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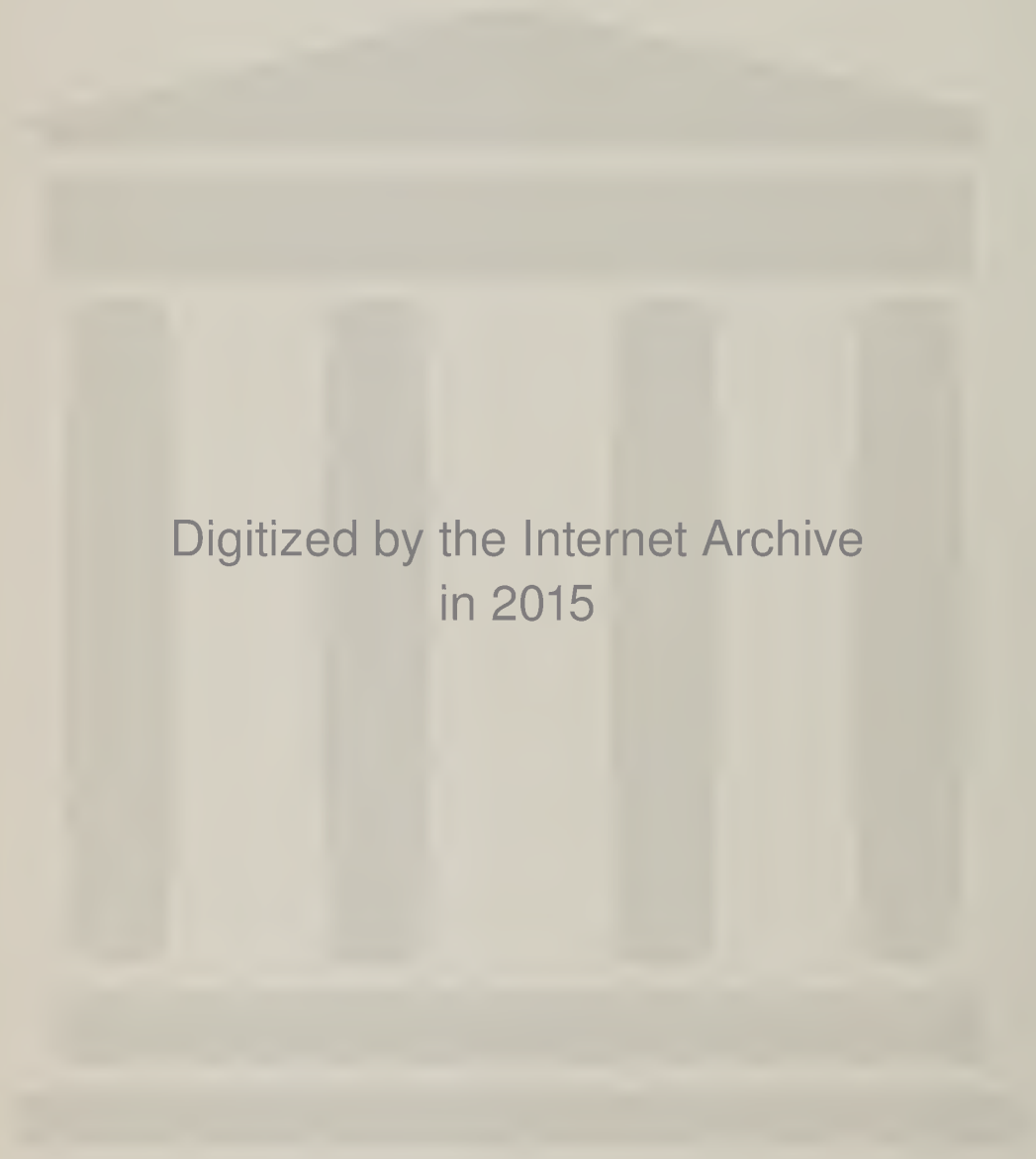
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SOCIETY OF JESUS

VOL. LXXXVI

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Saint Ignatius And Education

JOHN W. DONOHUE, S.J.

No doubt the history of any age has its own ironies and paradoxes. The history of the sixteenth century, at any rate, fairly glitters with them. This is to be expected, of course, for that was a seething period of transition, a time of shattering change and upheaval, and one could hardly expect it to have been also an era of entirely logical and predictable patterns. And the subject of St. Ignatius and education might be approached by way of a moment's reflection on one of those ironies, a comparatively minor paradox, but with some relevance for our topic.

About the year 1509 the recently founded university at Wittenberg acquired a new lecturer on Aristotle, a young Augustinian monk who in several ways might have seemed very much a man of the new age and admirably suited to the temper of this Renaissance school, conceived, as it had been, in the spirit of the humanistic persuasion. He was sprung from that middle class whose star was everywhere ascending. His father had originally been a miner but he came to the city where he did well enough to plan for this son a lucrative career in the law. The boy was trained in his youth on the customary diet of grammar, rhetoric and poetry. His university work had made him aware of the classical spirit propagandized by the transalpine humanists and those who knew Martin Luther in 1509 might reasonably have supposed that any energy he chose to direct towards education would be deployed on behalf of intellectual values, especially those of the new learning.

Now just about the time this young professor was climbing into the chair a little blond boy from the Basque country was getting quite a different sort of education as a page in the palace of Juan Velasquez de Cuellar, chief treasurer of the royal court of Castile. This young aristocrat was drinking in a tradition of chivalry which owed as much to the medieval ideal of knighthood as it did to the Renaissance concept of

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This paper was one of a series read at Loyola Seminary, Shrub Oak, New York, during the Ignatian year. We plan to publish others of the series later.

the courtier. Instead of poring over Donatus' grammar like an industrious bourgeois in a dusty schoolroom, this scion of a proud, provincial nobility capered in the flashing regalia of a court gentleman and practiced sword play. He liked to read, to be sure—but vernacular romances, not the forensic outbursts of Cicero. Aristotle *De anima* meant nothing to an admirer of the amorous quests of Amadis de Gaul. The antiquarian enthusiasms of the Renaissance scholars would have seemed quite mad to this proud child of the Middle Ages in whose breast a genuine piety and a lusty taste for adventure jostled one another. He could not have understood the enthusiasm of a Poggio finding the complete Quintilian buried amid rubbish in the Abbey of St. Gall nor the raptures of the Florentine academy burning votive lights before the bust of Plato. For his part, he dreamed of rescuing fair ladies from dungeons, not Latin manuscripts and he lit tapers before the shrines of the saints, not the philosophers. Those who knew Iñigo de Loyola in 1509 might, therefore, reasonably have supposed that any interest he chose to manifest in education would hardly focus on the problems of Latin schools and courses of study in literature and philosophy.

But such is the vivacious irony of history that both Martin Luther and St. Ignatius did indeed interest themselves in education—but with a difference. In his educational projects the man from the medieval world went forward to meet the new age while the father of Protestantism often seemed bent on retreating to a world as much like ancient Judea as possible and to a charismatic concept of education. St. Ignatius founded universities and wanted them to honor Aristotle within reason and to adopt the *modus et ordo Parisiensis.* Luther, on the contrary, assailed all universities for, as presently ordered, what are they, he demanded, "But, as the book of Maccabees says, 'schools of Greek fashion and heathenish manners; full of dissolute living.'" Out with Aristotle, he insisted. For does not that wretched man teach that the soul dies with the body and thereby contradict Holy Scripture? What should be taught then? The Bible. For if, "we hold the name and title of teachers of the Holy Scriptures, we should verily be forced to act according to our title, and to

teach the Holy Scriptures and nothing else."[1] But St. Ignatius would require for the formation of young Jesuits, besides Scripture, humane literatures in various tongues; logic, natural philosophy, moral philosophy, metaphysics, scholastic and positive theology. The miner's boy became the confidant of princes and prescribed for peasant children an hour or two of class a day with the rest of the time to be usefully employed in domestic duties or in learning a trade. The hidalgo's son became, in a sense, the schoolmaster of Europe who would provide for the children of the new bourgeoisie a formidable academic introduction to eloquence and wisdom.

Foci

All this suggests, then, not merely the paradoxes but the complexities hedging about any discussion of St. Ignatius and education. These are, to begin with, two enormous themes. The reality subsumed under the label "education" is so rich and so central an element in the lives of men and their communities as to make the concept almost too comprehensive to be significant. And our other focus, St. Ignatius himself, is no less difficult to treat briefly and still adequately. This is a delicate matter for Jesuits to comment upon; yet we must at least point out, as unaffectedly as possible, that Ignatius of Loyola was one of those men through whom God changed the face of the Church. In this he stands with such saints as Paul, Augustine and Francis of Assisi. He decisively influenced, for instance, the practices of Christian piety. He introduced new concepts of the structure and purposes of a religious institute and, through the Society he established, he profoundly affected the apostolates of the foreign missions and education. All this, of course, is quite familiar to you and

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[1] Martin Luther, "To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation Respecting the Reformation of the Christian Estate," *Early Protestant Educators*, ed. Frederick Eby (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1931), pp. 35, 40. The contrasts above are admittedly somewhat unnuanced. There is much about Luther that is medieval in spirit just as there are passages in which he advocates the humanities as a good preparation for those who are eventually to study Scripture profoundly. Nevertheless, so sharp if tendentious an observer as Erasmus maintained that where Lutheranism prevailed, scholarship declined.

has been discussed with authority and detail by the preceding speakers in your series.

We propose this evening, in order to make the material somewhat manageable, to sum up a few reflections under two broad categories which are rather conventional but also sufficiently capacious. These are headings corresponding, more or less, to the conventional distinction between practice and theory. Let us, in the first place, review what St. Ignatius did in education, what his personal experience with formal schooling and its problems was like. And secondly, let us consider St. Ignatius' broad theory of education—that is to say, those aspects of his world-view which have particular pertinence in this whole matter.

Practice

The concrete contribution of Ignatius to the actual business of education can, of course, be spelled out definitely and succinctly. Under God he founded the Society of Jesus; organized it with a prescient and practical wisdom and gave it its first orientation towards those works of scholarship and teaching which are the constituents of our educational enterprise and are accounted by our present Father General first among our ministries.[2] In all these projects, what distinguished St. Ignatius, the administrator, was this astonishing synthesis of a venturesome foresight with prudent realism. In 1556 neither he nor anyone else could have predicted the needs of 1956. But St. Ignatius gave his Company an institute of reasonable—and for the time, novel—flexibility which left it free to follow the developing lines of apostolic necessities. It was, consequently, open to growth and inspiration in a way that would have been impossible had the Society been rigidly ordered to some predetermined work like ransoming captives or preaching crusades.

This Ignatian genius for tranquilly maintaining in steady balance an absolute sureness regarding basic aims and a careful but imaginative experimentalism touching concrete means

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[2] John Baptist Janssens, S.J., "Epistola ad Societatem 'De Ministeriis Nostris'," *Acta Romana Societatis Iesu*, XI (Fasciculus iii—Anno 1947), 315 ff.

shows up strikingly in the history of our development into a teaching order. The details have been summarized by Father Farrell, Father Leturia and, most recently, by Father Ganss.[3] In the beginning the newly formed Society had only a general dedication to teaching in the widest sense. By a series of steps it passed from the establishment of houses of study exclusively for young Jesuits to the admission of externs to those classes and finally to schools and universities explicitly created for the general humanistic education of lay students. The whole development was canonically sanctioned by the Bull of Julius III, *Exposcit Debitum* of July 21, 1550 which declared that the Society exists to defend and propagate the faith by, among other means, public *lectiones.*

You know the astonishing results of these decisions and how this novel enterprise involving a religious order in the teaching not of theology only but of the humanities and natural sciences as well became, in fact, the characteristic work of the Society of Jesus. This is the work, as Father General has put it, which the Society "has esteemed beyond others and cultivated with the greatest zeal."[4] When Ignatius died four hundred years ago there were already thirty-five colleges established and seven more on the way. When Ribadeneira died sixty years later there were 293 colleges, some thirty-eight of them abroad in the Americas, India and Japan.[5] Today, in our own country, there are more than twenty-six thousand students in forty-one Jesuit high schools and more than one hundred and three thousand in thirty-four Jesuit colleges, universities and seminaries. We are, to be sure, dedicated with all our hearts to the foreign missions.

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[3] These are accounts available in English: Allan P. Farrell, S.J., *The Jesuit Code of Liberal Education,* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1938), pp. 25-152; George E. Ganss, S.J., *Saint Ignatius' Idea of a Jesuit University,* (Milwaukee: The Marquette University Press, 1954), pp. 18-43; Pedro Leturia, S.J., "Why the Society of Jesus Became a Teaching Order," *Jesuit Educational Quarterly,* IV (June, 1941), 31-54. This last is a translation by V. J. Yanitelli, S.J. of the original essay of Father Leturia in *Gregorianum,* XXI, Fasc. III & IV (1940).

[4] John Baptist Janssens, S.J., *op. cit.,* p. 319.

[5] Leturia, S.J., *op. cit.,* p. 54.

Still, even there much of our effort is spent precisely upon schools.

The history of Jesuit schools is, however, another story and we must go no further with it lest we lose sight of St. Ignatius himself. This much has been recalled only to underscore the enormous insight of our Father in God. St. Ignatius, as we suggested before, could hardly have known—at least naturally speaking—the lineaments of that new world towards which his own transitional age was moving. In the post-Renaissance centuries two distinctive actualities would appear. In the West the ideal of some formal schooling for everyone would become an unquestioned principle. At the same time, the control of popular education would largely pass from the church to the state in the nations of the Atlantic community. On the North American continent a new republic would come in time to exemplify both these actualities. Its Catholic citizens would find themselves living, it is true, in a pluralistic society where the schools are technically neutral toward religion. But at the same time these Catholics would be sharers in the economic abundance of the United States and would be prepared to support their own schools—if someone were prepared to conduct them. Thus it has happened that the preeminent apostolic activity in a culture such as ours is probably that of education. At other times and in other places a people may have transmitted its way of life through vehicles other than the school. Perhaps the Athenians were as effectively initiated into the Hellenic idea and ethos at the theatre or in the assembly as in the rather makeshift classrooms frequented only by a minority. But in America now this task is made to devolve, in theory at least, upon the school almost alone. This is not to say that such a situation is wholly desirable but only that it happens to be the real one. So that if today you want to work for the good of your neighbor there is simply no better place, no more sensitive and vital area in twentieth century America than the school. This is not to pretend that it is an easy place to work. Teaching is now as ever a business of much sweat and anxieties, having its unique rewards, but fertile also in failures and disillusionment. Neither do we mean that the school is the only place to work or that other apostolic activities are not also essential. We simply mean that at present

the civilization of intelligence and the formation of conscience; the examination of life's central issues and the acquisition of intellectual resources to meet them is more than ever the charge of the school. But since personal fulfillment and ultimate redemption are profoundly conditioned by, or intertwined with, these processes the work of teaching is now of unparalleled apostolic import.

It was the wisdom of St. Ignatius to have realized, even though the future was opaque, that education is at any time a job of considerable significance and to have shrewdly surmised that it would soon be crucial. Besides having launched the Society of Jesus upon this apostolate—in which it is proud to be laboring with so many other religious groups as well as with such dedicated laymen and laywomen—Ignatius also left us an example of that spirit of practical zeal which is an important key to success. There is an inescapable lesson to be drawn from the contemplation of St. Ignatius at his desk in Rome, busy with plans, and letters; testing, weighing, watching and acting. To think that the youth brought up amidst the Quixotic ambitions of a fading chivalry should have put aside all the pointless reveries and adventures of a caballero to work for the world from a little desk—to think of this is to understand what splendors grace can effect in a noble nature.

Theory

So much, then for the concrete educational work of St. Ignatius. Our second theme is less easily stated. Did St. Ignatius entertain some characteristic concept of a Christian humanism and if so, what was it? We can formulate an answer, I think, by returning to an earlier point and recalling for a moment his own education which was, in fact, two educations: the education of Iñigo de Loyola and the education of Master Ignatius. All in all, St. Ignatius was unusually well equipped for a world in transition where the sun was setting on one way of life and rising on another. He knew both spheres, yet managed to transcend each because he was larger than his context. He had got himself educated in two ideologies without being totally committed to either for he was one of those exceptional men who, while necessarily

humanized by an actual society, still surmounts this matrix as a prophet does.

In the manor house at Loyola, and later on in the palace at Arevalo, Iñigo de Loyola acquired accomplishments which were real enough but neither scientific nor scholastic. He loved music, novels and courtly manners. He became equally skilled in the Biscayan dances and the tough arts of a soldier. He knew no theology but he was formed in a firm loyalty to the Church. We know that this early education left lasting traces. The first point of the Kingdom meditation, for instance, is certainly not thinking of any Renaissance prince. It is a Louis IX, not a Cesare Borgia or Henry Tudor that one must have in mind there.

In all school history there can be few pictures at once so odd and so significant as that which illustrates the start of the second education of the former defender of Pampeluna. He has undergone, of course, a spiritual transformation symbolized in a homely way by the reduction and alteration of the resounding Iñigo Lopez de Loyola to a plain Ignatius. Now in his thirties, he is wedged into school benches with little Barcelona boys shrilling the Latin declensions. For eleven years he applies himself to the standard academic regime. After Barcelona, a sort of hodgepodge at Alcala: *Terminos de Soto,* he told Father Gonzales, *y phisica de Alberto, y el Maestro de las Sententias.*[6] Finally, the orderly curriculum of Paris: grammar reviewed at Montaigu; the arts at Sainte-Barbe, amid the humanistic breezes, and theology with the Dominicans at the convent of the Rue Saint-Jacques. But it is important to notice that this long program was, for St. Ignatius, strictly instrumental in character. In the memoir which he dictated to Father Gonzales, speaking of himself in the third person, he says: "When Ignatius understood that God did not wish him to remain at Jerusalem, he began to consider what he should do. The plan he approved and adopted

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[6] The original text of the autobiographical pages dictated by St. Ignatius is printed in the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu: Monumenta Ignatiana:* Series Quarta, Tomus Primus, (Madrid, 1904). The lines above are found on page 70. There is an English translation edited by J. F. X. O'Conor, S.J., *The Autobiography of St. Ignatius,* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1900) but it is unfortunately often inaccurate.

was to enter upon a course of study in order to be better fitted to save souls."[7] It was no love of learning for its own sake that inspired him but an implacable devotion to an end which learning might serve.

Unlike St. Bernard

It is this attitude, of course, which sharply distinguished him from the humanists—not only from a Bembo, but also from an Erasmus. Father Leturia reminds us that Erasmus thought love of letters admissible only *si propter Christum,* but one cannot imagine St. Ignatius talking about love of letters at all.[8] On the other hand, his attitude is also quite unlike that of St. Bernard. In the tenth part of our Constitutions we are told that the men of the Society are to cultivate diligently all those human resources which will make them—*useful.* Their learning is to be exact and thorough and they are to acquire some eloquence for effective preaching and teaching. And if for certain people this notion of *utilitas* seems to profane the academe, still any demand for studies and teaching would have appeared questionable to St. Bernard. *Monachi non est docere,* Bernard said more than once, *sed lugere.* And he exhorted the clerics of his day: *Fugite de medio Babylonis, fugite et salvate animas vestras.*[9] But the sixteenth century was not the twelfth—and neither is the twentieth. Jesuits are accordingly bidden to study the tactics of the king of Babylon and to join battle with him. Besides, the end of their Society is not only to look to their own salvation, but also to work tirelessly for the salvation of others.

In terms, then, of this academic profile Ignatius appears again as a curiously independent figure, formed but not absorbed by each of two different cultural traditions. Doubtless his ability thus to overpass his milieu can be explained on the psychological level by the matchless intensity with which he grasped a few pivotal supernatural truths and realized them with unremitting devotion in practice. Consequently, to schematize St. Ignatius' "philosophy of education" we need

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[7] *The Autobiography of St. Ignatius, op. cit.,* pp. 80-81.

[8] Leturia, *op. cit.,* p. 41, n. 58.

[9] Quoted by Philippe Delhaye, "L'organisation scolaire au XIIe siècle," *Traditio,* V (1947), 227—text and n. 14.

only disengage these fundamental certainties and indicate their relevance for educational theory. Such an approach is not necessarily artificial for it is not inappropriate to think of St. Ignatius under the formality of an educational theorist. He has not bequeathed us, of course, anything like a complete philosophy of education for there are many speculative questions which he never attacked. But he was greatly interested in the education of character, in the making of the good man and in this he shares the fundamental concern of all the philosophers of education from Plato to Dewey. Every influential pedagogical treatise has been informed by a dominant moral purpose and was written in the spirit of an ethical zeal for the nurture of moral men. St. Ignatius would have approved of this inspiration if not of all the programs in which it issued.

The mind of Ignatius is reflected, of course, in his own documents—in the book of the Exercises, the Autobiography, the Constitutions and the Letters. One might comb through these for details which could be sifted into our modern categories.[10] It is more important, however, to point out that all these constitute a rich lode from which our educational tradition has long drawn and which we ourselves continue to mine. Many problems may arise in a Jesuit school or university today for which there is no detailed and specific answer in the institute. Their solution is authentically Ignatian, however, if it represents the concrete application of that total tradition in which we have been formed. Guidance in these junctures comes from a man's whole Jesuit background and part of that background is a central theme in the Ignatian idea of education which we want to stress here.

Christian Humanism

If we were to isolate the essential facet of humanism it will surely appear in giving primacy—even a monopoly—to an interest in man and this world, whereas Christianity, without

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[10] To suggest but one example: the fourteenth annotation in the *Exercises* which instructs the retreat director to have a care for the particular condition and character of the exercitant will be cited as an instance of respect for individual differences. It is, of course, though St. Ignatius might have thought it simply basic common sense.

forgetting either of these elements, does indeed accent in the first place an interest in God and the Kingdom of Heaven. The characteristic problem of Christian humanism becomes, then, one of harmonizing these two interests in what Pius XII has called the synthesis of the living person. Now St. Ignatius did not wish to neglect the humanistic values but he did have a very definite notion of the part they were to play in that total harmony. It is quite certain, I think, that for him all of human culture is to be regarded as fundamentally instrumental, an agency not a term. For him, therefore, education is a means and not an end. This is true whether education be thought of as a product or as a process. An individual ought to want to realize in himself the fruits of an education in order that he might better serve the Divine Majesty, assist his fellow men and save his own soul. A teacher should wish to expedite this process for much the same reasons.

For those familiar with the Exercises and Constitutions there is really no need to document this thesis. *Tantum quantum, instrumentum conjunctum,* means, service—you know how distinctive and constant is St. Ignatius' employment of these concepts. There is no sound intellectual, aesthetic or physical value which he would exclude from the ideal education. With this in mind we shall avoid misunderstanding the saint. When he tells us to find God in all things, we realize that he is fully aware of the intrinsic values to be found in creatures. He does not consider them *sheer* instruments—the *bonum utile* and nothing more—but rather intermediate ends. Neither is his view of education crassly utilitarian. He would not let Lainez curtail Ribadeneira's Latin studies for the sake of getting on more quickly to the professional business of theology, because the intermediate goal itself was not simply the acquisition of skills but total humanization. But granted all this, it remains true that he would require every educational value to find its place within a wider context where ultimately it is not terminal but instrumental.

Now this has some refreshing consequences for education. It seems to me, for instance, that Father Ganss is quite right when he argues that St. Ignatius was no blind traditionalist in the matter of contingent aims and procedures. He wanted a man's education to outfit him for a life fully and effectively

Christian in both its individual and social dimensions. And he would hardly expect a twentieth century school to attempt this by means of a sixteenth century curriculum. For as Father Ganss puts it, he had "an instinctive horror of being entangled in rules or traditions of the past which had ceased to be effective means to a present end, however good they may have been when first drawn up."[11]

Still, it is possible that viewing education as ultimately instrumental may leave us with a troublesome question. For isn't it true that intellectual and cultural values are inherently precious, are good in themselves and not merely as useful tools for reaching something else? Of course they are, and as we noted above St. Ignatius knew this and nowhere denies it. He simply does not address himself to that point for he surveys the terrain from an exceedingly lofty elevation and his dominant concern is with the final and total picture. Had he adverted to this matter he would surely have agreed that no man can consume his life in a chemistry laboratory or in editing texts or simply in reading the dull but necessary books that every student has to get through unless, besides other motivations, he is also sustained by an insight into the inherent worth of the intellectual endeavour itself. But if he is a Christian, he will know too that within the larger perspective this excellence appears as an intermediate good, having about it the quality both of a goal and a factor. Within the dimensions of its own order the simple furtherance of knowledge is the sufficient end of research. But the man is more than the physicist or historian or artist and his life is not comprehended by his professional career. In the final reckoning, the whole realm of scientific or creative work is ordered as a means to a transcendant and absolute value.

Saint differs from saint and Ignatius warns us anyhow not to compare them. We might, though, observe that since St. Thomas Aquinas was a great scholar as well as a great saint, he will serve to remind us of the essential goodness in the quest for truth, while St. Ignatius will keep before us an equally pertinent principle by reminding us that the search itself must be a service of the God of truth. Those who are lazy or anti-intellectual will need to meditate on the instruc-

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[11] Ganss, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

tion of St. Thomas. Those who have already savored the rewards of dedicated scholarship need to keep in sight the instruction of St. Ignatius. One of the greatest Christian scholars of our day has put it all very well. In *Christianity and Philosophy,* Professor Gilson observes that piety can never dispense with technique.

> To serve God by science or art, it is necessary to begin by practicing them *as if* these disciplines were in themselves their own end; and it is difficult to make such an effort without being taken in. So much the more difficult is it when we are surrounded by a spontaneous expression of naturalism or, to give it its old name, which is its name for all time, of paganism, into which society ceaselessly tends to fall back because it has never completely left it. It is important, however, to free ourselves from it. It is impossible to place the intelligence at the service of God without respecting integrally the rights of the intelligence; otherwise, it would not be the intelligence that is put at His service; but still more is it impossible to do so without respecting the rights of God; otherwise, it is no longer at His service that the intelligence is placed.[12]

Conclusion

And now, what of ourselves? We, too, live in a day of transition and in many ways a very desperate day it is. In our rosier moods we are fond of saying that it is a time of great challenges, but there are moments of dreadful perception when we are apt to think that the challenging forces are only too numerous and too cataclysmic while our resources are much too few. You know, of course, that this problem can only be confronted tranquilly within the precincts illumined by the austere light of faith. But as we address ourselves to all these tasks of the hour, let us recall the bracing example of St. Ignatius. Father Jerome Nadal once jotted down some personal recollections of Father Ignatius and I should like to conclude by citing two of these.[13] Writing of the saint Nadal said: *Numquam rem assumpsit, quam non confecerit*—he never failed to complete any project he took up. Literally this was quite true. But in a symbolic sense it is not yet true.

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[12] Etienne Gilson, *Christianity and Philosophy,* trans. Ralph MacDonald, C.S.B., (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1939), pp. 116-117.

[13] "Acta Quaedam P.N. Ignatii a P. Natali," *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu: Monumenta Ignatiana,* Series Quarta, Tomus Primus, *op. cit.,* p. 471.

Through the Society which he founded St. Ignatius took up the apostolate of education, but it is not yet finished. The hour of its consummation is known to God alone. But as the sons of this great and holy Father it is our present vocation and privilege to carry the work forward for the space of our lives, and to do so in the spirit of St. Ignatius.

And what is that spirit? Its great components are well known to you: the total abnegation, the ideal of service, the all conquering charity. But set beside these another winning characteristic which was the first that Nadal recalled. For he remembered that to visit St. Ignatius was a delightful experience, guaranteed to buoy up the most anxious heart: *Qui in eius cubiculo,* said Nadal, *laetissimi semper ac risibundi.* Great fissures may have been cracking Christendom and the Church itself may have seemed in deadly peril from the apostasy of entire nations. But as St. Ignatius bent steadily to his labors in his modest office he was so affable, so merry even, that the contagion was quite irresistible. This is not the Ignatius of legend—this is the real Ignatius, the man and the saint. May it be granted us to be worthy sons of such a father.

FRENCH TRANSLATIONS

A French translation of twelve documents, drawn for the most part from the *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* and embodying Ignatian principles pertinent to contemporary Jesuit needs, has been published by Père Gervais Dumeige of the French Scholasticate at Enghien.

Père Dumeige also directed the translation into French of Father Hugo Rahner's "Notes on the Spiritual Exercises" (WOODSTOCK LETTERS, July, 1956). This translation was of great assistance to the Fathers who translated the "Notes" into English. Most of their supplementary bibliography was taken from the French version.

Four Centuries Of Inspiration

GEORGE BYRNE, S.J.

A few years ago, a Cambridge ecclesiastical scholar, Mr. Green published *Eight Studies in Christian Leadership*. On the Catholic side, he considered St. Augustine, St. Francis of Assisi, St. Thomas Aquinas, St. Ignatius Loyola; on the Protestant side: Calvin, Hooker, Wesley, Temple. Eliminating one or two Protestant prejudices, we find his admiration for Ignatius' work sincere. Thus he writes: "The bull —*Regimini militantis Ecclesiae*—was a landmark in the history of the Church. It established a religious society which constituted nothing less than a living embodiment of the Church militant here on earth. Loyal above all to the vicar of Christ, the Jesuits were next in duty bound to give complete and unswerving obedience to the General of the Order. A successful soldier fights with undeviating obedience to his superior officer, willing to suffer all the wounds and bitterness of the campaign, asking only to fulfill his duty, 'for no reward save that of knowing Thee.' If the Franciscan was the tumbler of the Lord, the Jesuit was the mercenary of God, dispensed from the duty of singing the monastic hours in choir, or from the duty of wearing the monastic garb, graded according to his spiritual efficiency and true vocation. It may well be that more than any single man or woman he contributed to the reformation of the Catholic Church and the reinfusion of vigour which enabled her to face the future with delimited numbers but unchastened enthusiasm. And this was because for all his efficiency and moderation, Loyola always had his mind and soul focused on the greater loyalty which lies beyond the world. 'We must', he told Sister Teresa Rejadella, 'lift ourselves up in true faith and hope in the Lord.' This was the ultimate secret of Loyola's success." (Green, *From Saint Augustine to William Temple*, pp. 92, 101)

An exhortation given at Milltown Park.

The earliest description of the Saint in an official document is far from suggesting a founder's triumph and his canonization. In an indictment, sent in 1515 to the episcopal court at Pampeluna, he is characterized "as bold and defiant; he wears a leather cuirass and is armed with sword and pistol; he is brutal, vindictive." At the time of his death, he was said to be "a character whom no passion could taint; a master of self-discipline whom the last vestiges of selfishness had left; a man who lived exclusively in the service of God." How did this wonderful transformation come about? The evolution is portrayed, line by line, in the Spiritual Exercises. In his letter to Father General, for the fourth centenary, His Holiness the Pope says: "If the book of the Spiritual Exercises was the firstborn of St. Ignatius, the saintly author can equally well be said to have been the firstborn of those Exercises."

The new birth, with all its consequences, took place in his hours of contemplation at Manresa, by the banks of the Cardoner. There, Orlandini tells us, he saw the *Fabrica Societatis.*

The general view took its concrete shape and expressed itself in the meditation on Two Standards. Father Mercurian, fourth general of the Society, heard from the lips of the Saint that: "In the meditation of the Two Standards, God had placed before his eyes the plan and basis of the Society." And Ignatius considered the vision of La Storta as the accomplishment of the colloquy of the Two Standards. From this we may draw two conclusions very important for a deeper conception of the Society.

On the one hand we have a sketch of the Society outlined; on the other the humble search for the way to be followed. The search extended over years, probing possibilities, and forming what has been called the theology of the *Magis.* Ignatius has but one will: to help Christ in souls. The rest is left to the conduct of grace which unfolds little by little. We may record our Lord's words to His apostles: "I have many things to tell you yet but you cannot bear them now." One idea stood out in daylight clearness: it is necessary to come to the assistance of souls in the Church militant. In the Pope's letter referred to, this point is thus stressed: "When Ignatius later composed the Constitutions and gave them to his companions, his intention was not that rigid laws

should replace the living and life-giving law of interior love."

From the vivid awakening of the supernatural outlook four great principles dominated Ignatius: they are the heart of the Spiritual Exerises, and the soul of the Constitutions. The first is that of militant service: the Kingdom of Christ and the Standards. The militant service is impossible without discipline, so "the true and genuine progeny of the Society should be distinguished by the mark of obedience." But, and it is the third principle, the obedience is one of love, brought home to us by the name of Jesus, one of the substantials of the Order, never to be sacrificed, without changing its whole spirit. And the fourth principle is the aim and object of the Exercises, and of the Company organized to carry it out: to conquer one's self and regulate one's life by the determination of seeking and finding God's will. The words *regulate* and *determination* stand out. The former knight-errant of an idealized princess is master of himself instead of the pursuant of glory in his own interests. The accepted idea of chivalry was turned upside down: the fixed idea, "What new enterprise can I attempt and carry through?" Opposed to it is Ignatius' fixed inspiration: "What is the enterprise to which God wills that I should address myself?"

St. Ignatius had discarded the office in choir. The conservatives frowned on him. Yet it is hardly an exaggeration to say that with St. Ignatius, as in St. Ignatius, thought about prayer reached its high-water mark. Two obstacles to perfect prayer were removed: undue formalism and unbalanced mysticism. Devotion concentrated on the life of our Lord: *sequar te quocunque ieris:* countless souls were stimulated to the unselfish and unremitting service of God and man. The whole gamut of the soul's powers was played upon to harmonize it with the Master's own prayer: application of senses, sorrowing to tears with Christ sorrowing, rejoicing in His great joy; reflecting back upon myself, and ending up in the way of the genuine mystic: a complete answering of love to the love outpoured so that, as the nineteenth rule has it, "we may be daily more fit to receive in greater abundance His graces and spiritual gifts."

What, then, dear Fathers and Brothers, is to be the fruit in our souls of this fourth centenary celebration? The Pope,

himself a saint by general admission, tells us: "In these troubled times Holy Mother Church asks the Society for sons of the Ignatian mold. Under the standard of the Cross may they stand firm against all the attacks of the princes of the world of darkness. Loving and ready obedience must be shown to superiors, especially the Supreme Pontiff. To worldly desires, love of poverty must be opposed; to empty pleasure a certain austerity of life and untiring labour; to the discord of the world, gentle and peace-bringing brotherly love, love for each other and for all men."

LETTER TO AZPETIA

I beg you with all my power and affection for the love and reverence of God our Lord to devote yourselves to the honor, credit and service of His only-begotten Son, Christ our Lord in that tremendous institution of the Blessed Sacrament, wherein His Divine Majesty in His divinity and humanity is as grandly, completely, powerfully and infinitely present, as He is in heaven. In the Confraternity that should be formed, let there be rules binding each member to go to Confession and Holy Communion once a month, but voluntarily and without any obligation under sin. I have not the slightest doubt that doing and acting thus you will find inestimable spiritual benefit. In the early Church, all those of the right age, both men and women, received the Blessed Sacrament every day. Afterwards, when devotion had grown a little cold, they communicated every eight days. Then, a long time later, charity having much more diminished, people went to Holy Communion only on the three great feasts of the year, each being left to his own choice and devotion to communicate more frequently, every three days, or eight days, or once a month. At length, owing to our great frailty and infirmity, we have reached the stage where Communions only once a year are the custom, and we hardly deserve the name of Christians. Then let it be our part for the love of such a Master and for the great profit of our souls to take up again the holy practices of our forefathers, at least in part if we cannot entirely, by going to Confession and Holy Communion once a month. Should any wish to advance further, he may rest assured that he will do so in conformity with the will of our Creator and Lord. I end by begging and entreating you for the love and reverence of God our Lord to give me a share in your devotions, above all in those of the Most Blessed Sacrament, and you shall always have in mine, though poor and unworthy, the completest participation.

ST. IGNATIUS LOYOLA

FATHER EDMUND A. WALSH

Father Edmund A. Walsh

LOUIS J. GALLAGHER, S.J.

Edmund A. Walsh was born October 10, 1885 in South Boston, Massachusetts. His parents, John Francis Walsh and Catherine J. (Noonan) Walsh, were Americans of Irish descent. He received his early education in the Boston public grade schools, first attending the Bigelow School and afterwards graduating from the Rodger Clapp School in Dorchester. Somewhat in advance of his class, he entered Boston College High School at the age of thirteen. At that time the High School comprised only a three year course; during his years there young Walsh ranked high in all his classes, took part in high school debates and in Shakespearean plays, and for his second and third years was a member of the High School track team, and locally known as a good short distance runner. He was, however, anything but a short distance man. As his future revealed, he went the full distance and achieved distinction in several different spheres of life in which there was plenty of competition. On completion of his high school course he decided to apply for Annapolis and to enter the Navy, but his mother had something to say about that, and she needed only to express her wish that he fulfill a higher ambition which he had entertained from the time of his earlier youth. On August 14, 1902 he entered the Jesuit Novitiate at Frederick, Maryland, and he was a member of the community that transferred from Frederick to the new Novitiate at St. Andrew-on-Hudson in January, 1903.

On October 19, 1952 Father Walsh celebrated his Golden Jubilee as a Jesuit, at Georgetown University, and the number of congratulatory letters he received on that occasion affords us some idea of the diverse and numerous, national and international, projects in which he was involved during his half century of activty as a Jesuit. On November 15th, 1952, the Georgetown University Club of Washington held a jubilee dinner celebration for Father Walsh at the Mayflower Hotel, at which Archbishop Amleto Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate, Rev. Francis Brown Harris, Chaplain of the United States Senate, Rabbi Norman Gerstenfeld, General J. Lawton Collins, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, and Honorable

Harold M. Stephens, Chief Justice, United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia, offered their felicitations to the Jubilarian. The selection of speakers at this dinner and the telegrams read by the toastmaster from former President Hoover, from J. Edgar Hoover, and from various foreign embassies and consulates, were other indications of the many and prominent contacts that Father Walsh had made during the busy course of his active career. A few excerpts from his reply to the congratulations tendered him at this dinner will afford a summary sketch of his life.

Sketch of Life

"It was my lot," he said, "to be born into the waning years of the nineteenth century when life and social customs in Boston were tinged with the roseate hues of a setting sun condescendingly called the Victorian Age. The times were not violent nor hurried nor hard on the nerves. Every past, I presume, seems slower in pace than every present. Distance and the laws of optics do that to the human eye gazing on all receding objects. The horse and buggy, far from being a reproach, were a symbol of considerable economic speed, not to say of affluence, in my boyhood. The nights were illumined, not by the garish glare of neon tubes, but by the softer glow of gas jets, kerosense lamps, and Welsbach mantles. They represented the best available products of that particular stage of invention, and were far better than the tallow candles and whale oil lamps that preceded them. In 1892 the great World's Fair at Chicago and the attendant publicity made us primary school boys conscious of Christopher Columbus. We began to understand that America was discovered by an Italian navigator in the employ of Spain, whereas we previously had imagined that the new world had been created by Puritans from down Cape Cod way.

"It was in August, 1902, that I first set foot in the comfortable and leisurely southern city that housed the then unproliferated Federal Government. Georgetown, a half century ago, was simply West Washington, a tranquil suburb basking in the sun. It gave small evidence in 1902 of the residential destiny and the architectural renaissance awaiting it at the hands of the real estate experts. That first acquaintance with

Washington was in the nature of a pleasant stopover on the way to a still more characteristically southern community, Frederick, Maryland, where I was to embark on my ecclesiastical studies in the Society of Jesus. Being a displaced New Englander in what Bostonians would consider the deep South, I dutifully compared the comparables. Hence, I stood one day on the bridge close to the house of the redoubtable Barbara Fritchie, and by the magic of memory recalled her verbal shot heard round the world:

> Shoot if you must this old gray head,
> But spare your country's flag, she said.

I next staged in my mind's eye a concrete manifestation of southern chivalry as the rebel commander gave his magnanimous order:

> Who touches a hair of yon gray head
> Dies like a dog. March on, he said.

One sceptical Yankee among us suggested that Stonewall Jackson really held his fire because from where he stood he could not quite see the whites of her eyes. Another, from Maryland, quietly asked if it might not rather be that he was economizing ammunition until he caught up with General Lew Wallace commanding the Yankee troops then in hasty retreat from Frederick Town.

"It was 1909 when I returned to the rapidly growing National Capital, as a young instructor at Georgetown University, to begin a residence of over thirty-five years in this community. There were periods of absence and residence elsewhere in the ensuing decades—in England, Ireland, Austria, France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, Mexico, Holland, the Near East, Iraq, Japan and, longest of all, in Soviet Russia under Lenin, who miraculously escaped liquidation by Mr. Stalin in one of his purges by conveniently dying in 1924. Although these absences were frequent and sometimes prolonged, I believe I may truthfully say they were of the body, not of the spirit. The spires and the clock-tower on Georgetown Heights were rarely absent from my thoughts and never from my affections. My esteemed colleagues on the Hilltop understand, I am sure, why Goldsmith's nostalgic lines came often to my lips:

Where'er I roam, whatever realms to see
My heart, untravelled, fondly turns to thee.

I would be dishonest to the facts, and utterly insensible to the influence of Georgetown University on my adult life if I were to omit tribute to her place and to her share in whatever of merit you have discovered in the record of my years.

"I thank the disciplined but patient formation (of character), as exercised by my Order, founded as it was by a soldier over four hundred years ago, which taught me to put first things first, particularly to regard no man as fit for command who has not first learned how to obey.

"I thank the venerable educational institution which has harbored my presence, borne with my faults, encouraged my projects, and always welcomed me back after frequent sojourns in foreign parts."

Father Walsh took his first vows at Poughkeepsie in 1904, and after two years of classical studies he went to Woodstock, Maryland for three years of philosophy. It was his proficiency in the Greek and Latin classics that prompted his Superiors to send him to the University of Dublin in 1912 and to the University of London in 1913 for graduate studies in Greek and Latin. Previous to these special studies, and after completing the course of philosophy at Woodstock, he passed two years of the regency or teaching period at Georgetown University. The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 found him in the first year of theological studies at Innsbruck, in Austria, and when the theologate was taken over by the military, he was among the students who were forced to return to their native countries. In that same year his theological studies were resumed at Woodstock, where he presented the *Actus Publicus de Deo Elevante et Iustificante* in 1918, two years after his ordination to the priesthood. His second contact with Georgetown was his appointment there as Dean in 1918, and from that time until his demise, during a period of thirty-eight years, his name was in the Georgetown catalogue. During his first year as Dean of Georgetown he was called into the service of the United States War Department, as a member of a board of five educators to co-ordinate the studies in colleges taken over by the Government. This was an

R.O.T.C. project covering the entire country, and he was assigned as regional director of colleges in New England.

On his return to Georgetown in the following year, he immediately set to work planning a new department of education to meet demands in the field of international relations that would develop as a result of the great upheaval of the first World War. In this instance, his vision of the part that Georgetown was to play in the future educational world was nothing short of worldwide. The immediate result of his planning and of his experience in the Army was the founding of the Georgetown School of Foreign Service, in 1919, of which he was the first director and regent. Two years later, in 1921, he was in Paray-le-Monial, in France, approaching the end of the year of tertianship, when he was summoned to Rome to undertake the first of the great projects that were to keep him engaged in foreign countries, at varying intervals, for the next twenty-seven years. This was the beginning of a series of global expeditions which resulted in his being named an honorary citizen of five foreign countries. In June of 1922 he was appointed director of the papal relief mission to Russia and papal representative in that country. The year and a half absorbed in this Russian undertaking directly influenced every major project he conducted during the rest of his busy life.

Apart from his work as an educator, a lecturer, and an author, Father Walsh's life may be divided into a series of international episodes relating to his life as a diplomat.

First Diplomatic Mission

The first of the diplomatic missions entrusted to him during his varied overseas career was the most difficult and the most precarious. After a five year period of war and revolution, of famine and of the red terror, in which "scepter and crown had tumbled down," the Communist Bolshevik government was in the first phase of its contemplated domination of the world. There was a famine in the land. The American relief administration was endeavoring to assuage it. Under direction of Pope Pius XI, Cardinal Gasparri, the Secretary of State, and his assistant, Monsignor Pizzardo, were negotiating with the Bolshevik officials in Rome about sending a Papal

Relief Mission into Russia to assist in feeding their millions of starving children. The necessary food supplies for such an undertaking might be purchased from the Roumanian Government or from the American relief administration in Russia. The direct purchase of food from Roumania would have been costly, and its distribution over the vast stretches of the Russian famine area by papal agents would have been a cumbersome task requiring a numerous personnel. To affiliate the papal mission with the American relief administration, with the privilege of purchase and distribution of American food to papal warehouses in outlying districts, was more economical and much less difficult. At that time there were five other relief organizations affiliated to the American relief administration in Russia, all of which were headed and operated by Americans. A papal mission to Russia, made up of men from five different nations, had to be directed by an American in order to secure the privileges of affiliation.

In February of 1922 Father Walsh was called from the Tertianship at Paray-le-Monial, and directed to go into Russia to make a survey of famine conditions and to arrange with the director of the American relief administration for the affiliation of a papal relief mission. He arrived in Moscow on March 23rd and was back in Rome by May 3rd, after having visited the Moscow and Petrograd districts and the more seriously affected famine area of Samara. Conditions were more than serious. They had already proved fatal to more than a million children. The question of affiliation with the American relief administration required more time and travel than the Russian survey.

Under President Harding all European relief was in charge of Mr. Herbert Hoover, at that time Secretary of Commerce. Colonel William Haskell was directing the American relief administration in Russia, and negotiations for the affiliation were carried on between Moscow, Rome, and Washington. Father Walsh landed in New York on May 27th, presented the Pope's letter to President Harding on the 31st, took breakfast with Mr. Hoover on June 1st, and delivered a second letter directed to him from the Vatican, and the affiliation was confirmed. Father Walsh and his American assistant were both made members of the American relief administration.

No objection was made to the fact that the other eight members of the mission were to be Europeans. The two Americans arrived in Rome on June 28th. In the meantime the other members of the mission were appointed from Italy, Spain, Germany, and Czechoslovakia, and arrangements were being made for their entrance into Russia by way of Constantinople and Odessa.

To Moscow

The director's trip from Rome to Moscow was not without its attendant difficulties. On the train from Warsaw to Riga he was informed by an A.R.A. agent that Colonel Haskell was very probably on the outgoing train from Riga, which would stop at Janiskis to meet the ingoing train at 2:00 A.M. Father Walsh had planned on meeting the Colonel at Riga or in Moscow. The meeting was important, so he decided to find Colonel Haskell on the other train and to return with him to Berlin. His assistant went on to Riga, in Latvia. It was a hurried change. The conductor of the train had collected all passports, as was the custom at the time. He very probably could not distinguish one American passport from another, and handed Father Walsh the first one he put his hand on. On the following day Father Walsh's American assistant met a fellow American to whom the conductor had given Father Walsh's passport on his arrival in Riga. On July 19th, after a six day sojourn in Riga, the assistant received a telegram from Father Walsh in Berlin, reading: "Proceed to Moscow with baggage—having passport trouble." He proceeded as directed and arrived in Moscow with two trunks and three bags on July 22nd. Father Walsh reached Moscow four days later, on the 26th, the same day that the eight additional members of the papal mission to Russia sailed from Bari, in Italy.

Realizing as he did that this particular mission was beset with difficulties arising from sources wholly alien to the feeding of starving children, the first duty of the director was to get his feeding program underway and operating. He knew he was facing a spectre of famine that would haunt Russia for a few years and eventually change its shape into a still more

dangerous political and philosophical phantom. The large sign painted on the Kremlin wall, "Religion, an opiate to the people," reminded him that apart from feeding hungry children he had another commission, as vital to the Russian people as relief from physical hunger. He was the sole agent in Russia at that time of the one government in the world that was diametrically opposed to the fundamental tenets of the Marxian doctrine, upon which the Bolsheviks had already begun to build a Communist government. To feed a quarter of a million children in a dozen different centers, scattered hundreds of miles apart, in a country where there were no highways, and where railroad transportation had virtually fallen apart, was a task in itself. To conduct such a mission under the supervision of suspicious and inexperienced government officials who had to report on the movements of every foreigner in the land was quite another undertaking. The housing of agents, the transportation of foodstuffs and of personnel, the opening of feeding kitchens and the distribution of food packages, the hiring of Russian help and the opening of warehouses, all met with discussion and delay while little children were dying of hunger. Despite the fact that the Catholic Archbishop, the Patriarch of the Russian Church, and a Jewish Rabbi, eighty-two years old and blind, were in prison in three contiguous cells in Petrograd, and apart from the fact that the government campaign of spoliation of the churches was in full swing at the time, interest in church affairs had to be postponed in favor of the hungry children. And yet, while inaugurating an extensive feeding program in Moscow and in the Crimea, Father Walsh succeeded in negotiating with the government to keep open Catholic churches in Moscow and in Petrograd. It was about this time also, in August, 1922, that Pope Pius XI offered to pay in equal weight of gold for the holy vessels confiscated by the government from Catholic churches in Russia, but there was no response to his request. The Holy Father had already made his first petition to the same government for the return of the relics of Blessed Andrew Bobola, Polish Martyr, which Bolshevik agents had removed from the Catholic church in Vitebsk to a medical museum in Moscow, but, here again, not even the courtesy of a reply was forthcoming.

On August 2nd Father Walsh left Moscow for Novorosisk, where the Vatican mission agents were scheduled to land from Constantinople. Their itinerary, however, had been changed and they landed at Sevastopol on August 6th. By August 22nd the director was back in Moscow, having arranged with the local Crimean authorities for the opening of a feeding kitchen at Eupatoria and for the transfer of the mission agents to carry on relief work in other parts of Russia.

The long series of letters and documents exchanged between the papal relief office in Moscow and the housing committee of the city of Moscow, relative to a residence in the city, which the government was to supply on application, is only one evidence of time lost and of work impeded by dealing with subordinate officials who worked and lived in utter fear of their superiors. Negotiations with higher government officials relative to church affairs in Petrograd were even more exasperating. The director of the papal mission made several trips to Petrograd, in an effort to safeguard church property, to keep open the Catholic churches, and to have Archbishop Cieplak released from prison. The Archbishop was in prison when the papal mission arrived in Russia and he remained there until nine months later, when he was summoned to Moscow for trial and condemned to death, together with Monsignor Butchevitch. The Monsignor was executed the very night he was condemned. The Bishop's sentence was commuted to twenty-one years in prison; and the same sentence was given to twenty of his priests. During these nine months there was a continual flow of letters and documents between the Vatican and the mission office.

Difficulties

Only the experience of having attempted such a gigantic relief task can afford an adequate appreciation of the difficulties encountered in establishing an alien organization in Russia in 1922. The distances and the weather that defeated Napoleon are always present in a Russian winter. The national system of railroads had collapsed before the end of World War I, and since that time not a spike had been driven. Trains that were still running were whole days late on their

running schedule, and their engines were burning wood due to a national shortage of coal. There were few inter-city roads and no military highways, and the railroads were the only means of long distance travel and transportation. Automobiles and auto trucks were a government luxury and the few that one saw were left-over American models from the war years, or were brought in by the American Relief Administration. And despite all this, in addition to the added delays and interruptions caused by letters and even telegrams arriving from Rome days and even weeks after date, the relief work was begun with incredible dispatch.

The general plan was to feed children in open kitchens and to send out packages to needy families. The food package was a collection of forty-nine pounds of flour, twenty-five pounds of rice, ten pounds of sugar, ten pounds of lard, twenty tins of evaporated milk, and three pounds of tea. Within two weeks of its arrival in Moscow, the mission had sent out four hundred and five of these packages, in response to requests sent in before the mission had arrived, by people who had known of its coming. No distinction of race or religion was made in package distribution or in the open kitchens. The operations were further delayed by contradictory orders coming from Rome and from Moscow as to where the work was to begin. Originally the Spanish and German members of the mission were destined for Rostov and for Krasnodar, but when they arrived in the Crimea the Russian government asked to have the entire Papal mission detained there because of the famine conditions prevailing in that district. According to their report, there were thirty-five thousand children in that section threatened by famine. Directions from Rome were to open kitchens in the Crimea with four men to direct them, and to send the others to their original destinations. One can gather some idea of the difficulty in following contradictory orders, from the fact that a telegram sent to the mission from Rome and dated September 20, 1922 was delivered there in October, 1923. This particular telegram was sent through the Soviet representative in Rome, who, in turn, sent it to the Soviet state department in Moscow. Evidently it did not fit into their plan for papal mission activities.

At that time also, there were thousands of orphaned chil-

dren wandering aimlessly about Moscow and its vicinity in search of food. Who they were and where they came from, no one knew. Dr. Golder, of the Jewish relief organization, then operating in Russia, said that there probably were four million children between the ages of seven and fifteen, orphaned by the war, the famine, and the red terror, moving about Russia in advance of pursuing famine. For the most part they came into the larger cities riding underneath the railroad cars. The Government was endeavoring to gather them into barracks and warehouses and abandoned factories. When the papal mission agents arrived in Rostov there were three hundred of these children living in a factory which had been stripped of its machinery. They were half-clothed, half-fed, and ninety per cent of them were suffering from disease. Nothing but the grace of God, in the form of American food and American medical supplies, dispensed by the relief missions, prevented the outbreak of a plague in such unsanitary conditions. By September 25th the director of the Vatican mission could write to Rome, forwarding an account of the opening of feeding kitchens in the Crimea, where three thousand children were being fed once a day, and this was only the beginning. One month later the Holy Father was informed that the papal flag was flying freely in Moscow, Petrograd, Rostov-on-the-Don, Krasnodar, and in various towns in the Crimea. In other words, the feeding program was under way and making progress.

Pots and Kettles

Due to a lack of equipment in opening their first kitchen in Eupatoria, the papal agents had to build stone fireplaces in the building assigned to them. These fireplaces were fashioned to hold large soup cauldrons and the cauldrons, in turn, were made from abandoned harbor mines found on the sandy coast of western Crimea. As Father Walsh said at the time, if swords have been beaten into ploughshares, so explosive mines originally intended for the destruction of enemy ships could be shaped into pots and kettles for use in feeding hungry children in Catholic kitchens in Bolshevik Russia.

The dozen papal agents were merely the directors of the

different stations. The detailed work of the entire operation required a large corps of Russian employees: clerks, typists, interpreters, translators, warehouse managers and chauffeurs. All of these were indispensable adjuncts of a nationwide operation that had to be conducted on businesslike lines involving purchase, shipment, insurance, storage, distribution, and control of thousands of tons of precious food. This kind of work required long and frequent trips to outlying district stations, and travel at that time in Russia was no small problem in itself. In a stateroom of what had formerly been known as a first-class car, one had to supply his own bedding, food, and lighting. Sleeping bags, a primus stove, a basket of food from the American commissary, and a large can of insect powder were the ordinary travelling equipment. In second and third-class carriages, one carried the same equipment, but he slept on a board shelf, up or down, fully accoutered from fur cap to high felt boots, one of four in an open alcove, and the other three were frequently Soviet soldiers. During all their travels, which were long and frequent, no mission agent ever reported a loss on a train. Railroad accidents were common but not serious. On overnight journeys a train would sometimes stop in the early evening on the edge of a forest or near a thicket of trees, and the passengers were handed axes and told to cut up dead wood for fuel for the night run. The feeling of insecurity, an ingredient of the Russian atmosphere, was at times enhanced during train travel when one experienced the very perceptible swaying of a heavily loaded and slow chugging train over a decadent wooden bridge.

The complicated feeding program, with its three-way correspondence between the Vatican, the mission office and the Bolshevik government, would have supplied sufficient work to occupy a well-filled work-a-day program. This, however, was only part of the activities that were constantly increasing. In addition to food, a request was made for twenty thousand pairs of children's shoes, and clothing for as many children and adults. Fortunately, the vast medical program being carried on by the American relief administration covered the districts in which the Papal mission was working. This was all relief work; bodily and material assistance, and the principal reason for the presence of the Vatican relief mission in

Russia. The extra, more delicate, more difficult, and more dangerous assignment, entrusted to the director of the mission, was the supervision of the interests of the Catholic Church, in a country that was openly and avowedly hostile to its very existence. The great spoliation of the churches—Russian and Catholic—was still in process. Some churches were being used for barracks and moving picture houses, and others were being torn down under pretext of removing obstructions from public places.

No Compromise

The Russian schismatic churches had already lost over a hundred million dollars worth of sacred vessels, icons, and gold and silver ornaments. The Catholic churches, less ornate in decorations, had lost some hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of similar objects. Every district that one visited in Russia at that time had stories of Russian schismatic priests who had been put to death. The great drive on the state church was coming to an end. The Bolshevik government had that particular religious element well in hand and under control. With the Catholic Church there was no question of control, because with that Church there was no room for compromise. Here it was question of total eradication, and, were it not for the presence of the papal mission in Russia, the effort might have well have been successful. In the last analysis, the anti-religious drive fell but little short of its endeavor. Apart from Petrograd and Moscow, in each of which only one Catholic church was left open for worship, there was no other place in Russia where the government showed any hesitation in confiscation.

The religious controversy was rapidly approaching a crisis, when in January, 1923 the government asked the Vatican mission to take over the famine-stricken district of Orenburg, beyond the Volga, in the lower Ural country. The American relief administration had worked there during the preceding year, but had to close its relief station and recall its personnel because of continued interference by local Russian authorities. The salaries of Russian employees at relief centers were paid by the central government in Moscow. The payroll was made

out at the relief office, and the money to cover it was delivered to the relief office by the local representatives of the central government. With this arrangement, and living conditions being what they were, it is not difficult to understand why local authorities, following the ideology of their superiors, would try to control the distribution of food and the handling of money.

The Amerian relief administration and the Vatican mission both responded to the call of twenty thousand hungry children in the Orenburg district without question or condition, but in doing so the director of the Vatican mission placed himself in a dubious, if not in a precarious, position. Father Walsh was a student of Marxian Philosophy, and after half a year in Russia he was well aware of the fact that with Bolshevik officials diplomacy and duplicity were synonymous. His later writings are patent evidence that at that time he knew he was taking part in the opening chapter of a struggle that eventually would affect every religious profession and every form of government in the world. For the first time in history the universal Catholic Church was face to face with a new kind of civil government, set upon establishing its own universality by the destruction of all other forms of government, and by the reshaping to conformity with its own ideas, of every phase of human life. Even the phantom of such a regime called for the elimination of the idea of individual liberty and of God-given rights. The Russian Church already had been compromised into subjection. What occasioned the second flare-up against the Catholic Church in Russia during the first months of 1923, was probably the fact that it did not and would not compromise on its fundamental tenets. Telegrams in code were passing between the Vatican and the mission office in Moscow, and the director was advised to make every effort, except a threat to discontinue relief work, in order to protect the imprisoned Bishop in Petrograd and the rights of the Church in Russia. Even the deportation of the Archbishop, reluctant as he was to leave his people, would have been a gesture of courtesy to the Pope, who at that time was feeding thousands of Russian children, but courtesy has no place where injustice is dominant. That the director did

everything in his power became evident a few months later when the crisis came, attended by catastrophe.

The American relief administration and the Vatican mission despatched their agents to Orenburg in January, 1923. Within a few weeks the spectre of famine had vanished, and by the end of March thirty thousand children and adults were being fed every day. It was in March also, and during Holy Week, that the Bolshevik authorities in Moscow, after waiting until the Orenburg threat of famine was under full control, struck its lethal blows in the trials and condemnation of archbishop Cieplak, of Monsignor Butchevitch, and of twenty Catholic priests.

The relief station at Orenburg, beyond the Volga, in the southern Ural district, was the last to be opened (January, 1923) and the first to be closed (June, 1923). It was operating at its peak in April, the season of the floods, when the Ural River rises and cuts off the hilltop city from the rest of the world. Thousands of people from the steppes, across the river, flocked into the city in search of food and shelter until the floods receded. The American relief administration and the papal relief mission had filled their warehouses in anticipation of the floods, and the refugees were cared for, in addition to the thousands of children then being fed. At that time the package distribution center at Krasnodar was supplying food for fifteen hundred families, and the Crimean stations were feeding thirty thousand children. By the middle of February, the Moscow central office of the papal mission had despatched clothing to the various relief stations for fifteen thousand children and adults. The number of people being fed at that time was 90,000, and in June of 1923 the overall and top figure for the Vatican relief mission was 138,000.

By June of 1923 the Bolshevik government could publish to the world that famine conditions in Russia were at an end. The American relief administration had closed most of its stations and was ready to withdraw. With it no longer operating, package distribution had to cease because all papal relief packages were purchased from it.

A request from the government to the papal mission to continue its work in the Crimea presented a whole new series of

difficulties, which were, however, attended by certain advantages. The diplomatic controversy that followed developed into a typical Bolshevik paper war. Negotiations were still going on relative to the release of Archbishop Cieplak and the other priests, and the Vatican was anxious to keep a representative in Russia. Correspondence was piling up on the subject of Church property, and the question of the restoration of the relics of Saint Andrew Bobola had already been reopened. The added difficulties connected with relief work in Russia after the departure of the American relief administration were patently evident. Food supplies would have to be purchased from Roumania, the cost of transportation to the Crimea would be heavy, and the usual troubles connected with the housing of agents were certain to be multiplied. The terms under which the Vatican mission had been operating with the American relief administration were ideal. The conditions under which the mission would have to operate as a separate organization, as suggested by the government, were prohibitive. The distribution of food and the hiring of Russian help were to be supervised by Soviet agents. The house rental for foreign relief workers was exorbitant, and their homes and offices were at all times to be open for police inspection. During all the time that the papal mission was working in Russia, the Director was aware of the fact that the house servants at all the mission centers, and especially at Moscow, were periodically summoned by the police to give a detailed report of what was going on in the mission houses. At one outlying station the two men in charge found out later that the local police were kept informed of where they went, with whom they talked, when they retired and when they got up, when and what they ate and drank, what they were reading. Fortunately, these two priests, working and dressed as laymen, were exempted from reading the breviary and spoke a language which none of their servants understood. The newly suggested condition of police inspection would mean all this, plus the added advantage of entrance without notice and search without warrant. These same conditions of house inspection were dictated to the British commercial unit when it was first opened in Moscow about a year previous to this time. In reply, the director of the unit said he would have no

objections provided the same conditions applied to the Russian commercial unit then operating in London. There was no further argument on the subject and no police inspection for the British. The Vatican was not in a position to make a similar reply. There were Russian agents living in Rome at that time but their residence was not within Vatican jurisdiction. When the Turkish Ambassador arrived in Moscow, in that same year, his house was exempted from police inspection, but four days after his arrival his Turkish servants discovered dictaphones in his office and in his living room. He, himself, told that story to one of the papal relief agents.

If the Russian government had not asked the papal relief mission to continue its work after the American relief adminstration had departed, the Vatican would probably have made a request to do so. The Catholic Church was then facing a crisis in Russia and there was no doubt as to its outcome. It was a crisis that must eventually terminate in an impasse, not only for the Catholic Church but for Christianity in general. It was a situation hitherto unheard of; namely, the total eradication of Christianity and the utter obliteration of all religion, for the creation of an atheistic world.

The great Russian state church, which took over the Christian inheritance from Byzantium when Constantinople fell, was already submerged in the wreckage of the imperial state. What heretical flotsam was left was now being gathered up to be built into the new Bolshevik atheistic church, in itself a contradiction in terms. This red church gesture was just another compromise with the Russian people. It would take a generation of atheistic education, perhaps a century of it, to wholly erase the idea of Holy Russia, which over seven centuries of state church had burned into the soul of the nation under the Caesaropapist rule of tyrannical Czars.

Destruction of Religion

Competent historian that he was, and a diplomat of long perspective, the director of the papal mission realized that Rome was facing a situation wholly different in origin and purpose from any of the series of crises the Church had weathered in the long course of its turbulent history. The separation of Byzantium, resulting in the growth of the vari-

ous branches of the Eastern Church, the defections of the so-called Reformation that gave rise to so many Protestant sects, and even the residence at Avignon, were dislocations causing the dismemberment of unity and the increase of heresy, but the heretics were still believers.

Atheistic Communism was the first human endeavor to destroy religion entirely with the purpose of producing an unbelieving humanity. The threat and the danger of such a philosophy to mankind in general, and the determination of its advocates to force it upon the world, were afterwards the topics of hundreds of lectures given by Father Walsh and listened to, but never acted upon, by hundreds of statesmen and politicians. Long before the Soviet satellite countries were subdued, and far in advance of the Yalta Conference, he endeavored to persuade the directors of American foreign policy that religion was the only safeguard of morality, and that morality, in turn, had no substitute as a protection for national and international industrial and economic society. Nowhere can we find a better forecast of the relations existing today between Soviet Russia and the rest of the world than in his writings. He was one of the first to warn the nations that the Communist strategy to conquer the world would be introduced by a camouflage of peace, followed by a cold war of nerves, in order to build up the necessary military strength for universal conquest. With him this was a logical but a conditional conclusion—if the world were to hesitate and compromise and continue to appease a philosophy which was essentially evil in its conception. His warnings were sounded long before Russia could boast of a military power ready to face the rest of the world, and far in advance of the discovery that frightened the world into believing that Russia might realize her boast in the atom bomb.

The recognition of the Russian government by the United States was granted, despite the views and the opinion of the director of the papal mission to Russia, given to President Roosevelt in the White House, on his personal invitation. It was on that occasion, and shortly before the official recognition, that the President, after listening to Father Walsh's objections, remarked: "Leave it to me, Father, I am a good horse-trader." The disastrous trading took place later on at

Yalta between the President and the man who was the very embodiment of all that was evil in atheistic Communism. Yalta was the diplomatic undoing of an enfeebled President, and his host became the great hero of Communism not only in Russia but in the rest of the world. Some years later the name and the fame of Stalin were declared anathema by his own hirelings, who divided up his power, wiped out his glory, and presumably rejected his policies, but they never had a word of criticism for his dealings with the American horse-trader.

A longer sojourn of the papal mission offered little or no hope of strengthening the tenuous hold of the Catholic Church in Russia, but there were advantages to be had from a delayed departure. Father Walsh went to Rome in late June and was back in Moscow in early July with plans for continuing relief work. Three whole months of correspondence were to pass before any work could be done, and more of this letter-writing was concerned with housing facilities than with feeding stations. In the meantime, two more major projects were still under discussion, namely, the surrender of the relics of Blessed Andrew Bobola, and the release from prison of Archbishop Cieplak and his twenty priests. The decision to continue work in Russia may have had some bearing on the outcome of these two undertakings.

Colonel Haskell and the last of the American relief administration workers left Moscow on July 20th, 1923. Plans were drawn up for the continuation of relief work by the papal mission in Moscow and in Rostov. The station in Orenburg had been closed, those at Krasnodar and in the Crimea were to be liquidated. What food and clothing were left in the warehouses of the stations, already closed, were handed over to the local Russian authorities for distribution. The mission workers had to give up their residence in Moscow in favor of an incoming ambassador, but no provision was made for other lodgings. This particular difficulty consumed a whole month of correspondence with two government bureaus, one of which had jurisdiction over foreigners living in Moscow, and the other over housing facilities, neither of them being certain of just where its jurisdiction began and where it ended. The mission agents were finally forced to take over a

house vacated by the American relief, until such time as another one was assigned to them, at a much higher rent than they had been paying up to date. Why they had to pay any rent at all, considering the work they were doing, was merely a mystery of Bolshevik policy.

During these busy days Father Walsh had several conferences with Mr. Checherin, the Soviety Secretary of Foreign Affairs, regarding the relics of Blessed Andrew Bobola. Checherin was an old-time Czarist diplomat who went over to the Bolsheviks, hoping that he could do more for his people in a public office than he could from a prison cell. He was well educated, mild mannered, and soft spoken in half a dozen European languages—a Bolshevik official who evidently found it a difficult task to steer a safe course between his conscience and his atheistic overlords. As one of the original founders of the Bolshevik regime he succeeded in prolonging his career until he fell a victim to the Stalin purge of 1937. It was through him, however, and probably on his initiative, that the body of Blessed Andrew Bobola was given over to the director of the papal mission and afterwards transported to Rome by a member of the mission, crossing over the Black Sea from Odessa to Constantinople on a Russian freighter named the Checherin. The story of that journey, the longest of the several Odysseys made by the body of the Blessed Andrew, is told in the life of the Saint written by the same Jesuit mission agent, traveling at that time as a diplomatic courier of the state department of the Soviet Government.

Progress on the other commission was not so noticeable, but results were more rapid and more surprising. When the mission agent, en route to Rome with the relics, arrived in Constantinople on October 22, 1923, he was informed that the Archbishop had been released and was then in Warsaw. The reason for his release has never been divulged; the circumstances attending it were afterwards recounted in detail by the Archbishop. On further investigation in Constantinople a rumor was heard, though it never could be verified, that just at that time, October of 1923, the Soviet Government was negotiating with the British government relative to mutual trading and tariffs, and that through the influence of the British Labor leader, Mr. McDonald, a clause was inserted

into the trading contract requesting the release of Archbishop Cieplak.

A few days after the arrival of the relics in Rome, a telegram was received at the Vatican asking if the agent who transferred the relics could return to Moscow and thus enable the director to go to Rome for consultation. It seemed high time to terminate relief work in Russia, and the telegram was answered by asking the director to turn the Moscow office over to the German mission agents, who had come in from Rostov, and then to come to Rome. The German Fathers continued to work in Russia for a few months after Father Walsh's departure. In that short time the demands and restrictions placed upon them by government officials made it impossible to carry on relief work. Famine conditions were at an end. The Papal Relief Mission closed its doors and the last of its agents returned to their native lands.

Second Diplomatic Mission

Father Walsh's second overseas diplomatic mission marked him as an organizer extraordinary. Before 1926 there were two Catholic organizations operating for the social, educational, religious, and temporal betterment of the area known as the Near East. The Catholic Near East Welfare Association, founded by the Right Reverend Monsignor Barry-Doyle, and the Catholic Union, founded by the Reverend Augustine Calen, O.S.B., had both been making substantial contributions to a common cause. Their work was efficient, but necessarily limited because of insufficient financial aid. To remedy this situation Pius XI decided that these two organizations should be welded into a larger and a more generously supported mission of relief. The appeal to this end was made to Catholic America, and on September 15, 1926 the American hierarchy, at its annual meeting in Washington, D. C., put into operation a complete plan of action and gave its approval to the extension and support of this work. By papal direction this new organization retained the name of Catholic Near East Welfare Association and, by appointment of Pius XI, Father Edmund Walsh was named as its President. He was to work under a board of governors, of which Cardinal O'Connell, of Boston, was to act as chairman and Cardinal Hayes, of New York, as

protector. The other members of the board were Cardinal Dougherty, Archbishops Glennon and Hanna, and Bishop Hoban. The purpose of the new organization was to work for the temporal relief and the religious welfare of the peoples of Russia, Greece, the Balkans, and Asia Minor.

Perhaps the outstanding example of Father Walsh's genius for organization is seen in the method he suggested to Rome for the permanent formation of a relief society for the Near East, and in the rapidity with which he accomplished results relative to its financial support. His plan of operation was presented to and accepted by the American hierarchy. In order to launch the new enterprise financially, his first request to the bishops assembled in Washington was to petition them for a definite Sunday on which a collection would be taken up in every Catholic church in America. The day agreed upon was January 23, 1927. His second suggestion was aimed at establishing a permanent income in order to secure the future growth of operations. That could be done by forming a society of associates among the laity. His goal in this undertaking was a million members contributing one dollar a year. As president and director his office was accountable for all correspondence, printing, accounting, and recording. Within the four months allotted for the work, this new organization was completely established in every detail and operating at full capacity. The chanceries of all the dioceses in the country were briefed with advance notices, and from them every church in the United States was notified several weeks previously of the special collection to be taken up, and of the society of lay associates which Catholics were invited to join. Every Catholic newspaper and magazine was contacted to publicize the appeal, and the 23rd of January, 1927 furnished another striking example of the response of Catholic America to a papal request. The result of the special collection in American churches was $1,051,933.93. The interest of the lay associates could not be determined until the following year, when their donations amounted to the surprising figure of one-half of the sum contributed on the day of the special collection. The success of this rapid and efficient organization was such that it merited a special letter from Pope Pius XI, dated October 3, 1928, to the cardinals and bishops of the United States, in

which he says in part: "A detailed study of the financial reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and of the Catholic Near East Association fills us with admiration and gratitude and offers us real and genuine comfort. We are filled with admiration by reason of the brilliancy and importance of the success reported; with gratitude for the co-operation on so vast a scale and with such great effect, evincing, on the part of so many people of every class and from every section of your immense country, such generous and beneficent good will." It was in this same letter that Pius XI mentioned the Society for the Propagation of the Faith as the work of works, first and supreme in its importance because it is the continuing through the centuries, and in the whole wide world, of the work of the Divine Founder of the Church Himself and of His first Apostles. It may be that at this time His Holiness already was thinking of incorporating the Catholic Near East Relief Society into the older and more widespread organization. The new society was well organized and operating efficiently, and could supply the Propagation with an index of half a million interested associates. The assurance of continued interest on the part of these associates needed more than the annual reminder of a single director. It needed the appeal of the united hierarchy which was forthcoming each year for the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Hence it was that in 1932 Father Walsh retired as director of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, and that organization was taken over by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, under the guidance of Cardinal Hayes of New York.

Mexican Mission

Father Walsh was called upon by the Vatican, in 1929, to act as a special representative in negotiating with the Mexican government in the church and state conflict of that year, and after a short visit to the City of Mexico, the presumably definite impasse was dissolved. This was the third and perhaps the most delicate of his diplomatic missions.

Of prime importance to the foreign diplomat is a knowledge of the character and of the background of the officials with whom he will have to deal. Some acquaintance with the lan-

guage of the country he is about to visit is important, but interpreters are plentiful and not too expensive. The history of the country and of its people—of their religious, political, social, and industrial development—is also necessary; but the future of all of these is dependent upon the powers that are making domestic and international decisions, and it is in their philosophy of life that the visiting diplomat must be most interested. Father Walsh went into Russia in 1922 primarily to feed hungry children, and, so far as that mission was concerned, there were only minor difficulties to be anticipated in dealing with the ruling Bolshevik outfit. At that time the so-called iron curtain had already been let down against emigration of the native population, but with a hundred million of them threatened with starvation it had to be raised for the entrance of foreign relief missions. The Vatican relief mission to Russia, under the direction of Father Walsh, fulfilled its assignment in detail so far as the hungry nation was concerned. It would have been suicidal for the political overlords to obstruct the organization or the efficiency of the relief workers. The added assignment of protecting what was left of the Catholic Church and of its hierarchy in Russia was quite another undertaking. With a famine on the land, relief was a vital necessity for the preservation of the country, apart from its form of government. The preservation of religion in Russia, which the government had already condemned to death and crowned with thorns in preparation for crucifixion, was a hopeless task in the face of opposition that ridiculed even the idea of placing guards at its tomb to prevent the hoax of a resurrection to follow. In 1922, close to the bridge in Moscow, there was a boat that had been sunk by the revolutionists in 1917, leaving part of its bow above water, on which one could read the name "The Hope of the People." When the state turned turtle in the revolution, the state church, the only hope of the Russian people, was also submerged, leaving only its name as historical evidence.

In Mexico it was a different story. Up to somewhat short of a hundred years before, when the government took over the schools, Mexico could be called a Catholic country, but neither in Mexico nor anywhere else was the Catholic Church as such ever identified with the state. Governments have been over-

whelmed in revolutionary storms, but the Bark of Peter, even when acting as a convoy to the state in a Catholic country, has never been submerged. There was scarcely any room for choice between the barbaric regime of Stalin in Russia and the fanaticism of Calles in Mexico. In both countries the dictator governments wrote and altered the constitutions, and successive tyrannical governments altered and took exception to the constitution whenever that would favor their political policies, and this is especially true where religion was concerned. In Russia there was comparatively little organized opposition on the part of the people or of the Schismatic Church to anti-religious and anticlerical legislation. Both the people and the Church were at a disadvantage in having no religious authority outside of Russia to defend their cause. Both the hierarchy and the people in Mexico had the Vatican as a support. Ninety percent of the people in Mexico were Catholic when President Calles was carrying on his campaign of hatred against the Catholic Church, drawing his policy, as he claimed, from the Quaretaro constitution of 1917. Surrender to Calles on the part of the Catholic hierarchy at that time would have meant the disappearance of the Catholic Church in Mexico. Here the people could organize, if not in armed opposition, at least in protest, and this they did in forming such societies as the association of Mexican youth.

When Calles as a candidate for office in 1924 asserted that he was an enemy of the sacerdotal caste, he saw that with the backing of the Quaretaro constitution he could go far toward wiping out the Catholic Church in Mexico, and he was well aware of the fact that there were various elements in the Mexican population that would help him in doing so.

During the Calles regime the Mexican government was operating with the active cooperation of the United States of America, but the Catholic people of Mexico, who had taken a stand against Calles, were backed and encouraged by the Catholic Church in America and in the rest of the world. What happened in Mexico between 1926 and 1929 is part of the history of the major persecutions of Church.

Archbishop Ruiz was driven into exile by the Carranza Government ten years before, and a second time by the Calles regime in 1927, but he probably was able to do more for the

Church and for his people as an exile in the United States than he could have done for them had he been permitted to remain at home. When Calles consented to talk with the Archbishop in 1928 it must have been evident to the dictator that the churchman had accumulated more than a little prestige during his exile. The results of this conference were encouraging, but internal trouble in Mexico prevented the immediate execution of any agreement. Obregon, the president-elect, was assassinated, and the Escobar military revolt turned the religious as well as the economic and political turmoil into a veritable chaos. In the meantime, Archbishop Ruiz continued with his plans. After consultation with the Mexican episcopate he went to Rome and laid before the Pope the results of his conference with Calles. This attempt at reconciliation might at least open the door for further negotiations in the near future.

That the existing Mexican constitution was written to shackle the Church was evident in the reading. That it could be changed for political purposes was already proved. That certain parts of it might be interpreted to mitigate the bondage of external control in which the Church was then existing in Mexico, was what the Archbishop was looking forward to in his next conference with the Mexican President.

To assert, as the Constitution did, that the Church could have no juridical personality in Mexico, meant that there could be no apostolic delegate nor any other authorized representative through whom the Church could deal with national authorities. That alone was sufficient to render the entire dispute a unilateral affair. The difficulty of separate states adding their own anticlerical laws to the already restricting federal constitution had also to be considered. If these and other anticlerical sections of the Constitution could be considered for interpretation, it was hoped that Church and State might come to an agreement that would at least establish a *modus vivendi* for the church in Mexico. By April of 1929 the Archbishop had arranged for an interview with Portes Gil, the provisional president. Apart from the Archbishop himself and Archbishop Diaz, an extraordinary committee of three was arranged to participate in the negotiations, and the choice of these three was made with as much caution as

discernment. The Apostolic Delegate to the United States, Archbishop Pietro Fumasoni Biondi, interested the American Ambassador to Mexico, Dwight Morrow, who suggested overtures for a settlement. Miguel Cruchaga, formerly Chilean Ambassador to the United States, made the first overtures to the Vatican for a new conference. It may be that Portes Gil was influenced in favor of another church-state conference by the attitude of the Catholics in the Serrano revolt, during which the Catholic clergy advised their people to remain loyal to the government.

The third member of the commission was Father Edmund A. Walsh, who was commissioned to go to Mexico to review the situation for the Vatican, and, if possible, to tone down the extremists on both sides. The result of the meetings of Archbishop Ruiz and President Portes Gil would seem to prove Father Walsh was quite successful in his mission. His brief stay in Mexico before the first conference, during which he made a survey of the existing conditions, his knowledge of the man he had to deal with and of the opposition he had to encounter, as well as his knowledge of the past few years of Mexican history, were sufficient to induce him to believe that the most to be hoped for was an agreement that would permit the Church to resume its activities in Mexico. With that there would be some hope for the future, dependent upon the character and the attitude of those who would follow the present incumbent in the office of president.

The public statement made by Portes Gil after his first meeting with Archbishop Ruiz was encouraging. A *modus vivendi* was finally agreed upon and established. The priests, who were withdrawn from their churches three years before, and were now widely scattered both in and out of Mexico, were returned to their parishes and the churches were reopened. The Mexican people were again permitted to practice their religion in public. The special commission had attained its end, and it may be taken for granted that each of its members played an essential part in the negotiations that brought it about. His Mexican experience is another example of Father Walsh's fast and efficient diplomatic procedure.

More than once Father Walsh's busy life of writing and lecturing was interrupted by a cablegram that was to de-

termine his activities for the following year or more. The signal success of the Vatican relief mission to Russia in 1922 and 1923, under his direction and for which he received a special citation of merit from Pope Pius XI, marked him as a diplomat held in reserve for emergencies.

Iraq

For some years previous to 1930 the Catholic hierarchy of the different rites in the Middle East had been petitioning the Vatican to open a Catholic college at Baghdad in Iraq. The founding of such an institution was an undertaking involving the solution of numerous and varied problems, some of them involving delicate diplomatic relations. Such questions as state educational requirements, the nationality of a foreign school faculty, religious teaching, language, curriculum of studies, entrance requirements, day scholars and boarders, had to be taken into consideration, as well as the important questions of finance, building, and the selection of a proper location for such a school.

The General of the Society of Jesus responded to the first request of the Vatican and accepted the undertaking with all its numerous responsibilities. His first call was to the American provinces of the Society; and four men were selected as pioneer workers, one from each of four provinces. One does not merely walk into a foreign country and open an American school. There was a difficult terrain to be surveyed—the dispositions of the local Catholic bishops of various rites, and of other religious leaders, the social and religious differences of a cosmopolitan public, and the ideas of the political, social, and industrial leaders of the country, all had to be considered. This task called for an educator and a diplomat, and it was this involved and delicate commission to which Father Walsh was summoned by an unexpected cablegram that detached him from his busy routine at Georgetown and sent him off, first to Rome for initial briefing, then to Baghdad as a Vatican agent. He arrived in Baghdad on March 27, 1931 and returned to Washington, by way of Rome, in May of the same year. The despatch and the efficiency with which this preliminary investigation was accomplished are evident from the immediate results obtained. The manner and the method in which

the commission was conducted are evident in the comment made upon it, contained in correspondence between the Vatican and the hierarchy of the Middle East at that time. The project of opening a Jesuit college in Baghdad was received with enthusiastic interest by such centers as the Babylonian-Syrian episcopate, the apostolic delegation of Mesopotamia, the Chaldean episcopate of Amadia in Iraq, the archiepiscopate of Mosul, and the sacred oriental congregation. Not a single objection was registered against it from the so-called Orthodox churches or from the religious leaders of non-Christian denominations.

On this tour of inspection and inquiry the only major problem left unsolved, and that for a purpose, was the choice of location for the future school. Father Walsh knew that he was not to remain in Baghdad and that the pioneers who would soon arrive were coming to stay. They would live in hired lodgings, and perhaps teach in a temporary school building for weeks and maybe for months. In the meantime, they could make a topographical study of the city proper and of its surrounding localities, of their natural features and transportation facilities. They were the ones who were going to live there, and they would be better able to select a location suited to their present work and to their future projects.

With full assurance that the Society of Jesus could meet the demands of the Iraq government and the requirements of the ministry of education of Baghdad, Father Walsh's next interest was to form a corporation in America as a protective agency for the new foundation abroad. This corporation is made up of American Jesuit colleges acting as a sort of holding company, to offer both moral support and representation if such should be necessary. The legal certificate of incorporation of the Iraq American educational society is now in the files of the recorder of deeds in the District of Columbia, under date of April 9, 1932. One significant item of exceptional foresight in this particular document is that the term for which the corporation is organized is perpetual.

Another immediate requirement for the security and the continuation of this educational project was the striking of an authorized seal, that would indicate the purpose of the foundation of the college and represent the mutual American

and Iraqian interests in its existence. To this end, Father Walsh collected and studied the seals of every Jesuit college in America, in order to avoid duplication of design and to work out an original and an appropriate escutcheon. The result of this labor is the present day seal of the College of Baghdad and of the corporation under which it continues to operate.

Selling America

One important observation made during his preliminary survey was the paucity of knowledge of all things American on the part of the people of Iraq, which also characterized their religious, political, and social leaders. Here was an obstacle that might delay the development of an American college in those parts, and Father Walsh immediately set about removing it, or at least reducing it to a harmless hazard. The means he employed to overcome this difficulty undoubtedly resulted in the development of closer relations between the two nations. With the opening of the new school, American books, magazines, and newspapers would be forthcoming in time. The radio was not generally known to the common people at that time, and television was not as yet in vogue. The problem required a rapid and an effective solution, and his first step in this direction was projecting machines and a collection of eighty-nine reels of films, illustrating every phase of American life. This film campaign met with immediate popularity. The people of Baghdad and of its surrounding vicinity developed a friendly spirit of co-operation and of admiration for American enterprise that went far toward building up their enthusiasm for the opening of an American school in their midst. They were proud of the antiquity of Baghdad, but were amazed by the size and activity of the younger Baghdad-on-the-Subway, known as New York. Many of them had crossed the Syrian desert, but they knew nothing of a Great Desert in America. Mountains they had seen to their east and north, but the Rockies, the Grand Canyon and Yellowstone Park were simply beyond their imagination. They had heard of and had probably seen the cedars of Lebanon, but they had never dreamed of trees like the giant sequoia trees, beside which their Lebanon cedars, probably of equal age,

were dwarfed in comparison. They were living between the Euphrates and the Tigris, but they could neither spell nor pronounce the name of the great river that cuts the United States in two. For some, their ideas of America were being changed, and for others, newly created. Their eyes were being opened to another world as they gazed upon American wheat fields and cotton plantations, the printing of newspapers, and the production of automobiles and breakfast foods, American sports and recreation, road building and travel and churchgoing, and a hundred other urban and rural activities, occupations, and diversions. The opening of a new American school in ancient Baghdad was something to look forward to with expectant interest.

One unique item relative to the founding of Baghdad College is that the college paper, *The Baghdadi*, is older than the college itself. The first issue of this interesting publication appeared aboard ship, when the first two of the pioneering Fathers were en route to Baghdad to open the college, and it contained the first of the very appropriate and amusing free-hand illustrations that have characterized every subsequent issue.

The high school department of Baghdad College opened September 20, 1932 with a faculty of four Jesuit priests. On that day, of the 350 students who had made application, 103 were registered. Among them there were Chaldean, Syrian, Armenian, Latin, and Greek Catholics; Russian, Greek, and Armenian Schismatics; Nestorians, Jews, and Moslems. In 1955 there were thirty-six Jesuits on the faculty, three lay brothers in community, eighteen lay professors, and 720 students in attendance. The location of the college had been well chosen, and new buildings appeared with the increase of attendance and with the growth of interest on the part of American benefactors.

The original survey for the American college in Iraq was well and accurately drafted, and drawn to a scale which Father Walsh envisioned as the natural development of an educational endeavor in the hands of his fellow Jesuits. During the years of its progress he watched its growth from various distant corners of the world, where he was engaged on

other special missions for the Society of Jesus and for the Church in general.

Nuremberg

The decade that followed his visit to Baghdad was a period crowded with classroom activities, with writing and with public lecturing. In 1935, and again in 1939, he was a visiting lecturer at the Academy of International Law, at The Hague, in Holland. In 1942 he was appointed consultant and lecturer of the war department of the United States Army, and in 1945 he returned to Germany as consultant to Justice Jackson, the United States Chief of Counsel, at the trials of the Nazi war lords in Nuremberg. During this sojourn in Europe he spent much time interviewing the Catholic bishops and priests of Germany and Austria relative to the persecution of religion during the Hitler regime. It was during this period also that he had occasion to visit and to question Major General Karl Haushofer, Hitler's teacher and the outstanding exponent of Nazi geopolitics. His book, *Total Power,* published in 1949, is chiefly based upon his experience in Nuremberg.

Father Walsh's last diplomatic mission took him to the other side of the world, which he had not as yet visited. From November, 1947, to April, 1948, he was acting as visitor general for the reorganization of the Society of Jesus in Japan, after the second World War.

At that time the Jesuits in Japan were mostly German, working on a foreign mission attached to the Province of Lower Germany. During the war, as nationals of an allied country, they were unmolested and permitted to carry on their apostolic labors as missionaries in the outlying country and as educators in the University of Sofia, in Tokyo. American Jesuits in the Philippine Islands, on the contrary, were put into concentration camps after the conquest of the Islands by the Japanese, and were left there until released by the American troops after the reconquest of the Islands.

From the time of Xavier's entrance into Japan in 1549 until the beginning of the great persecution in 1596, Japan had become what was known as the flourishing garden of Christianity. In 1591 there were a hundred and thirty-four Jesuits in Japan and three hundred thousand Christian Japa-

nese. The Church suffered its first blood bath in Japan in 1596-97 and a second and greater one in 1622, both in Nagasaki, the very town that was destroyed by the atom bomb in 1945. The systematic destruction of Christianity began in 1624 under the Shogun Yemitsu, and, forty years later, to all appearances the Catholic Church in Japan was actually defunct. Over two hundred and thirty years later, in 1858, when Perry persuaded Japan to adopt an open door policy, and when in 1859 the French refused all trade with Japan unless the door was also open to Christian missionaries, the first missionaries to enter found that some of the Japanese still had retained the fundamentals of the Catholic faith inherited from their forebears. In 1884 it was officially decreed that there was no state religion, and in 1889 the new constitution gave authentic recognition to religious liberty. In 1908 there were 62,000 Catholic Japanese, and in 1948, 120,000; and 70,000 of these, living in Kyushu, were descendants of the old-time Christians.

It is only to be expected that during a world war communications between the superiors of religious orders, residing in Rome, and their missionaries laboring in countries involved in the war, should be reduced to a minimum, if not cut off entirely. During the period of the second World War it could be taken for granted that the status of the Jesuits in Japan relative to the government would not be greatly altered, but their missionary and educational work was undoubtedly interrupted. Its continuance and advancement were dependent upon the outcome of the universal conflict, and nothing more promising for its progress could have happened than the American occupation under General MacArthur. That was an epoch-making event, bringing a new freedom to the people and to the spread of Christianity in Japan.

To Japan

With a detailed knowledge of what was happening at the various Jesuit centers in Japan, the General of the Society could more easily draw up plans for the future development of their work. Two of the Jesuit centers, Nagasaki and Hiroshima, had been wiped out by atomic bombs, and the activities at the other stations had been adapted to war conditions. In such circumstances it is not uncommon for the General of the

Society to appoint a man with the title of visitator, or official visitor, to go to a mission or to a province, or even to a whole assistancy, to investigate the activities of the Society in that region and to report to him what changes, legislation, or regulations would, in his estimation, be beneficial to the welfare of the Society. It was such an appointment as this, in 1947, that sent Father Walsh on his first trip to the Far East. Traveling by plane, via Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, he arrived in Tokyo on November 10, 1947, where he was met by General MacArthur, whose courteous attention during his stay in Japan expedited his travel along the full length of Honshu and north to Hokkaido.

Before his departure, and in anticipation of public lectures and newspaper conferences, he made an intensive study of the political, economic, industrial, and religious phases of post-war Japanese life. The development of the University at Tokyo and of the High School at Yokahama, and particularly the growth of the outlying missions, would be intimately connected with the living conditions of the people and with the government's efforts for rehabilitation.

Apart from the University of Tokyo, there were at that time in Japan under Jesuit direction twenty-six stations, ranging along the full length of the main island of Honshu, and extending north to Sapporo on the island of Hokkaido. Operating the Mission Stations there were seventy-one priests, seven scholastics and nine lay brothers. During his six months' stay in Japan Father Walsh visited all of these stations, spending a longer time at the larger centers of Tokyo, Yokahama, Hiroshima, Kobe and Nagasaki. His first public lecture was given at the Japan industry club, on the future of Japan, during which he emphasized the necessity of a proper recognition of moral and spiritual values for the rebuilding of the country. The *Nippon Times,* published in English, and several of the Japanese papers carried the full text of his lecture.

One important conclusion drawn from his general survey was the necessity of attacking the most difficult problem facing all foreign missionaries in Japan; namely, the acquisition and the mastery of the Japanese language. His solution to this problem was the establishment of a native language school

in Yokosuka, which all incoming missionaries not sufficiently acquainted with the language would be obliged to attend for two or three years, or until they had acquired sufficient knowledge of the language to teach and to preach in Japanese. This was really a return to the method of Matteo Ricci who learned to read, write, and speak Chinese like a mandarin.

Progress

Evidently the work of the Jesuits in Japan was making considerable progress, despite the disadvantages of post-war conditions. Within two years of Father Walsh's visitation the status of Japan was changed from a mission to a vice-province, and the General of the Society was calling for volunteers for the growing, if not as yet flourishing, garden of Christianity.

The three great opportunities for the development of Christianity in Japan had their beginnings, first, in the coming of Xavier in 1549; secondly, with the return of Christian missionaries on the adoption of the Open Door Policy in 1858; and lastly, with the close of the Second World War and the establishment of American occupation. The first epoch saw the Catholic Church grow to nearly half a million Christians, but this flourishing garden was well nigh eradicated by several centuries of persecution. In the second period the Church developed to nearly a quarter of a million members, seventy thousand of whom were descendants of the old-time Christians. In 1947 there were almost ten thousand Catholics less than in 1939, just before the war. This loss was due, in part, to the change in status of the islands of Oshima and Okinawa and in part to the number lost in the war.

Working in close harmony with all the clergy in Japan was the rehabilitation committee of the Catholic Church. This was a private organization of nine members, lay and clerical, established by direction of the Hierarchy of Japan, with Father Bruno Bitter, former president of the University in Tokyo, as chairman. The purpose of the committee was the execution of all measures to facilitate the rehabilitation of institutions of the Catholic Church in Japan, and to direct or assist essential activities relating to the general rehabilitation. In such issues as foreign missionaries entering or leav-

ing Japan, permission to travel in Japan, health requirements, the importation of building material and food, this committee operated under the laws and regulations published by the American High Command, and the Catholic military chaplain of the district of Tokyo was a member of the Committee. During his stay in Japan Father Walsh did much to cement relations between this committee and the government of occupation. A unique example of the problem of importation is recorded in the fact that after the Japanese surrender, the catechism, prayer books, and the Bible were entirely out of print, and that, at a time when unheard of numbers of people were asking for instruction. The problem was a supply of paper which had to be imported from abroad. The petition to the Supreme Command to import sufficient paper to meet the demand for religious books was graciously granted, but it was soon discovered that even in America it was extremely difficult to buy paper for export to Japan. Finally, through the head of the Belgian liaison mission, 150 tons of paper were sent to Japan in six different shipments. This paper was used for the printing of prayer books, catechisms, and Bibles. In such instances, the presence of one who is well known at the foreign embassies in Washington can be duly appreciated.

Father Walsh's visit to Japan had to do with only one of the nine religious orders of men then operating in Japan and during his limited sojourn he contacted every one of the 114 Jesuits in the country. The opening talk of the visitation was given at the University of Tokyo on November 21, 1947, and repeated in substance, with local modifications and applications, at all the other houses visited. In February of 1948 at a three day session, the 10th, 11th, and 12th, he met with all the superiors, and many other Fathers of long experience in Japan, to discuss the state of the Church in Japan, and the particular educational and missionary tasks of the Jesuits. The papers read by several of the Fathers at this meeting were discussed in open session.

Father Walsh's reputation had preceded him to Japan. He had known General MacArthur in Washington when the General was Chief of Staff, and his frequent lectures at the War College and at Leavenworth made him known to many

of the Army personnel then stationed in Japan. He was tendered a public reception in Tokyo, at which many of the prominent Japanese officials and of the high ranking American Army officers were present. At this reception he spoke on the future of Japan, emphasizing the fundamental needs of a people who were searching for new spiritual ideals. The full text of this address was carried by several Japanese papers. His varying addresses, such as the one he gave to the Far East Air Forces in Tokyo at the Dai Ichi auditorium, dealt mainly with geopolitics, a subject on which he was a recognized authority. In his volume *Total Power,* published in 1948 after his return from Japan, treating mostly of Nazi geopolitics, he gives a summary account, in an epilogue, of the collusion of Japan with Nazi Germany just prior to the attack on Pearl Harbor. He had been present at the Nuremberg trials in Germany in 1945, and he was lecturing on geopolitics for the three years following. His writings and his addresses reveal a full knowledge of Japanese as well as of Nazi and Russian geopolitics, and the fact that he spoke freely and publicly on geopolitics in Tokyo without a single disparaging reference to Japan is a tribute to his sagacity as a missionary and a diplomat. In the official entrance papers issued to him by American Army Headquarters his occupation is listed as missionary.

On his return to Rome by plane via Hong Kong and New Delhi, India, he addressed Father General's Curia in French on the status and the outlook of the Society in Japan, made his official report to Father General, and returned to America from England on the U. S. liner America, sailing from Southampton on Friday, April 23, 1948. On this particular mission Father Walsh went around the world.

International Influences

Someone once remarked of Father Walsh that he was internationally minded. The influence on a man's career of the international happenings that took place during his school years might be discerned from a cursory review of his career in retrospect. The so-called policy of American imperialism is usually dated from the treaty of Paris in 1898. It was in that year that Father Walsh saw Dewey's fleet enter Boston

Harbor. Later on he thought of joining the Navy, and in after years he wrote a book on the merchant marine and was a faculty member of a merchant marine institute. From that time on, also, the United States became involved in disputes with countries in which the most important episodes of Father Walsh's life were enacted. The Boxer Insurrection and the breakup of China in 1900 involved England, Germany, Russia, France, and Japan, in all of which countries he was to operate later on. One might imagine that international affairs had little or no influence on the career of a man who was busy pursuing a course of studies in a religious order. Peace time altercations between nations are frequently prefatory notices of future wars; and wars in general, particularly world wars, are disruptive of every phase of life, not excepting the activities of religious orders. In fact, such interruptions and upheavals frequently have gone far to shape the educational and missionary plans, not only of individual members but of an entire order. Father Walsh was at his studies in Innsbruck, in Austria, when World War I broke out, and had to make a hurried and precarious exit through Italy. Years later he was to return to Austria and to Germany to be present at the trials of the Nazi military leaders. It was war that interrupted his studies and started moving him about, and it was war and the aftermath of war that kept him moving across the Atlantic again and again in ocean liners, over all of the United States and Europe and the Near East, by train and by plane, and finally around the world. When not engaged in foreign operations, his whole time was taken up teaching, lecturing, and writing about the interrelations of warring nations. At the close of the second universal conflict he was called upon by the government to lecture at the War College and at various Army centers, as an expert on the theory and the practice of martial geopolitics. In this same capacity he completed a lecturing tour on international relations, which took him to thirty Army camps and officers training schools covering posts between Fort Riley, Kansas and Fort Ethan Allen, in Vermont. For several years, also, he was regular civilian lecturer to the finishing officers classes at the command and general staff school at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, and at the judge advocate general's school at the University

of Michigan. During 1933 and 1934 he served as director of language and area studies of the armed specialized training program at Georgetown, and in the post-Second-World-War period he lectured frequently at the air university, Maxwell Field, Alabama. In 1945 he became with Professor Chamberlain of Columbia University the co-founder of the institute of world polity, an organization connected with the Georgetown School of Foreign Service, and devoted to the discussion and systematic research of questions affecting international relations and the foreign policy of the United States. He was a member of the President's advisory commission on universal military training, and also a member of the President's committee on religion and welfare in the armed forces. In 1935 he was, as mentioned above, lecturing at the academy of international law at The Hague, in Holland, to which he returned for a second series of lectures in 1939. As a recognized authority on Communism in general he gave more than a thousand lectures, including his widely attended public lecture courses in Washington.

As founder of the Georgetown School of Foreign Service, Father Walsh was not only interested in every phase and angle of its work, but spent the greater part of his very active life in the actual and practical service for which the school was educating its student body. The necessity and the demand for a greater knowledge of foreign languages in America developed in step with the entanglement of international relations during the period between the two world wars, and it quickened its pace with the growth of Communism and the organization of the United Nations. To meet these emergencies the linguistic phase of international contact and of American foreign service was first answered by the Institute of Languages and Linguistics of Georgetown University, which was initiated and developed by Father Walsh in 1949.

Reputation

Thus far we have merely enumerated the outstanding accomplishments of a life of ceaseless activity of fifty years in the Society of Jesus. Father Walsh was nationally and internationally known as an ecclesiastical scholar, as an educator, historian, lecturer, diplomat, and author. As a writer, his

English style is purely classical, his grammar ever precise, his choice of words exact and accurate, and his vocabulary astoundingly large. His Latin letters also are examples of precision and of style. He spoke French and German fluently and corresponded in both languages with equal ease. From his high school days Father Walsh had an insatiable thirst for knowledge, and his retentive memory stored up an exceptional collection of quotations from the Latin and Greek classics and from the plays of Shakespeare, which he continually and very aptly used in conversation, in his lectures, and in his writings. After a day spent in Athens with Dr. Robert Finley, a well-known classical scholar of his time, the Doctor told Colonel Haskell that he had not begun a single quotation from the Greek classics which Father Walsh did not terminate. He was a student of history, and particularly so of comparative political history, by which his books and lectures are illuminated with the clarity of stereopticon views.

Father Walsh's books are accepted as standard works on the various subjects with which they are concerned, and they are still being quoted by leading experts in the different fields they undertake to survey. The story of thirty-four years of his busy life is traced in detail in his four classical volumes, which constitute one of the most reliable sources available of American foreign relations between the years 1917 and 1951. Two of his books, written in French, *Les principes fondamentaux de la vie internationale* and *L'évolution de la Diplomatie aux Etats-Unis,* are reprintings of his lectures given at The Hague. In 1944 he collaborated with a group of epecialists in preparing a volume entitled *Compass of the World,* contributing the chapter on geopolitics and international morals, and he was co-author with William S. Culbertson of *Political Economy of Total War.* His four larger works were the separate results of what might be styled the four major episodes of his varying career. His writing kept apace with his lecturing.

In connection with the overseas department of the School of Foreign Service he wrote *Ships and National Safety* in 1934, and in 1935 his one short story, *The Woodcarver of Tyrol,* was selected as one of the best Catholic short stories of the year.

His first large volume, *The Fall of the Russian Empire,* marked him as an accurate historian and a keen analyst of international diplomacy and politics. His sojourn in Russia as director of papal relief brought him into every corner of European Russia and also into intimate contact not only with the Russian people, but with every phase and department of the Marxian revolutionary government, at that time in the process of formation. The study and analysis of what he actually experienced during a year and four months of immediate negotiation with the new masters of the Kremlin resulted in his being recognized as a standard authority on Marxian philosophy. During the period that intervened between his return from Russia and the appearance of *The Fall of the Russian Empire* he was continually engaged in public lectures, endeavoring to awaken the American people in general, and their politicians and educators in particular, to the true nature and to the imminent danger of Communism. In connection with this effort, which might be cited as the fundamental purpose of all his writing and lecturing, in his latest book published in 1951 he gives us a very enlightening account of his two conferences with President Franklin D. Roosevelt, relative to the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States of America.

"The Fall of the Russian Empire"

Apart from being perhaps the finest sample of Father Walsh's literary style, *The Fall of the Russian Empire* is a unique historical document which future historians will consult for several reasons. His character analysis of the chief actors in the revolution of 1917, and in the counterrevolution, affords us a factual foundation for the historical causes of the collapse of the Czarist regime in Russia. The revolution was still rumbling when he arrived in Russia, and he had the decided advantage of actually contacting some of the leading characters of the great upheaval, and of interviewing people who had known the more prominent victims already fallen prey to its ferocity. His dramatic account of the pathetic passing of the imperial family was probably the first authentic description in English of the woeful tragedy that brought the Romanov dynasty to its lamentable end. Of this book one

literary critic remarked: "This history reminds us of two other studies: Gibbon on Rome and Carlyle on the French Revolution. It is as painstaking, as well-documented, and as scholarly as the former; as dramatic, lively, and impassioned as the latter."

The military and political manoeuvering that took place in Russia before and just subsequent to the signing of the treaty of Brest Litovsk is still historically obscure. The story of that brief but very important period is the very keynote of the history of the Russian Revolution, which was destined to affect every country in the world. The story of this period is nowhere better outlined than in *The Fall of the Russian Empire.* Philosopher that he was, the difficult undertaking of endeavoring to stem a famine set him to reasoning on the causes that had brought about the terrible plight of a mighty nation, and his account of the passing of the Russian Empire was the immediate result of this absorbing study. As an historical document it will stand as invaluable; as an example of historical literary style it has few rivals in the English language.

The second of his four larger books is entitled *The Last Stand.* It begins where *The Fall of the Russian Empire* left off, namely, with the exit of Kerensky and the entrance of Lenin. This volume is an interpretation of the first of Russia's five year plans. In it we have a thorough analysis of the task of Lenin, and of those who were to succeed to his Marxian mantle, in fashioning a Communist dictatorship out of the charred and scattered debris of Russia's imperial regime. After outlining the origin and scope of the first five year plan, he explains the working of the plan in Russia and its effects on the outside world. His vivid eyewitness account of the *modus operandi* of the plan on the religious front is a trenchant account of the first great onslaught of atheistic materialism against religion in general and Christianity in particular. As an historical account of this particular phase of the plan, this section of the book is penned with force and accuracy. The author's evidence was firsthand and visual, and the scenes of religious persecution he describes are strictly true and fairly related. In the foreword to this book he says: "The title of this volume *The Last Stand* should not be mis-

understood as prejudging the issue or forecasting the events. The final stand of an embattled army does not always mean catastrophe. A last trench may hold simply because there is no other, as the French held at the Marne and snatched victory from the jaws of defeat." The closing chapter of this volume, on the recognition of Russia by the United States, is a good preface to the efforts of Father Walsh to delay that recognition until such time as the United States could negotiate with the people of Russia rather than with their anti-American government. His efforts were to no avail, as we see in the narrative of his two interviews with President Roosevelt on this particular subject.

"Total Power" and "Total Empire"

Total Power, the first of Father Walsh's books dealing with geopolitics, is an analysis of the anatomy and of the abuse of power, as illustrated in the rise and fall of the Nazi movement which terminated in the Nuremberg trials. The author was present at these trials and had occasion to gather first-hand information relative to Nazi geopolitics from the accused leaders of the movement. This book affords us an amazing description of both Nazi and Soviet geopolitics, each set upon the destruction of the other, and both determined to accomplish the conquest of the entire world. The chapter on humanism and world revolution would alone be sufficient to mark its author as an erudite historian, a profound philosopher, a delicate analyst of human character, and master of a clear, concise, and classical style. Here, as in his other books, his exact and frequent reference to the arts and sciences reveals not only his varied and extensive reading but the talent for research of an experienced lawyer. It seems that he could gather together sufficient knowledge of any subject whatsoever to serve the purpose of his brief in preparation. This book, *Total Power,* received an award of twenty-five hundred dollars from the Authors' Fund of New York.

Total Empire, the latest of Father Walsh's books, is a study of the origin and development of Soviet geopolitical policy. As an outstanding example of scholarly research, this book probably is the best written and the most reliable source of detailed information in this particular field that has yet

appeared in English. The titles of Father Walsh's last three books give us no idea of their contents. *The Last Stand* deals with the Soviet Five Year Plan; *Total Power* with Nazi geopolitics; and *Total Empire* with the policy of Soviet expansion. These three volumes will last as standard works for historical research, and, as such, the matter treated in them should, perhaps, have been indicated in the titles by the appearance of the words Nazi and Soviet on their respective covers.

Father Walsh was in his forty-sixth year in the Society of Jesus and was sixty-three years old when he returned from Japan, his last major commission abroad. The years were passing rapidly. The days were all too short to accomplish his designs, and for some years past he had developed the habit of extending his workday into the early hours of the approaching dawn. In keeping with his oft repeated remark, that the correspondence of today is the historical document of tomorrow, he had accumulated a whole library of magazines, pamphlets, and clippings containing material pertinent to his lectures; of documents, official and unofficial, relative to his various missions abroad; and of correspondence, personal and otherwise, from which he evidently intended to fashion a memoir when the time arrived. The constant demand for his services and the continual pressure on his person were never relaxed and never interrupted for a vacation or a period of rest. Physically endowed with a strong constitution which was never subjected to a chronic illness, the accumulation of responsibilities he had accepted demanded a continual increase of both physical and mental energy.

Last Appearance

At the time of his golden jubilee as a Jesuit he was vice president of Georgetown University, regent of the School of Foreign Service, still teaching, giving public lectures, serving on half a dozen public commissions, and planning educational projects for the future. While speaking at the Jesuit community dinner in honor of his jubilee, he showed evident signs of lassitude that appeared to be something more than physical fatigue. For the next two months he continued working on his long day schedule, to which were added a series of recep-

tions, leading up to the jubilee dinner tendered him by the Georgetown University Club of Washington at the Sheraton Hotel on November 15, 1952. The printed program of this dinner contained a *curriculum vitae* and a list of honors conferred on Father Walsh, which afford us some idea of the work he accomplished and of the recognition it received. Congratulatory speeches were made at this dinner by public officials representing the various phases of American life in which Father Walsh had risen to prominence. Shortly after the opening of his address in reply to the many compliments he received, which we quoted above, the rich and resonant voice for which he had been nationally known as a public speaker began to weaken and gradually to lose its carrying power. Several times he paused, pardoned his delay because of a cold, and then continued to talk with noticeable effort and with an evident nervous strain, which increased as the tone of his voice was gradually weakening. Nothing but will power enabled him to continue. When he stood up to speak he presented the usual ease and calm that were characteristic of his frequent public appearances. As he continued to talk his distress became more and more evident to his audience, and, when finished speaking, and having sat down, maintaining his usual reserve during the continued applause, his whole countenance was literally dripping with perspiration. The Archbishop, seated next to the president of the University, turned to him and said: "Reverend Father, you have a sick man on your hands." With the reception and the banquet over, it was decided that Father Walsh should remain at the hotel that night rather than return to the College. This was the last of a long series of public appearances; a farewell address, though not intended to be, in which he thanked his friends for their interest and cooperation in his work, and explained the motives of his multiple activities. But his was more than an active life. It was a life spent in the exaltation of the spiritual motives which energized and intensified a long and relentless drive on a naturally buoyant nervous system, which finally succumbed to exhaustion under a burden of overwork.

In that closing address of his public life, Father Walsh expressed his regret for the absences from Georgetown occa-

sioned by the numerous calls of superiors to distant lands and at times for prolonged periods. To Father Walsh Georgetown was more than a cluster of buildings, more than an outstanding institution of higher education. It was his home, and the home of the religious community to which he belonged as a member of the Society in which he had vowed to spend his life for the greater glory of God. During his long residence at Georgetown this community was changing with every annual status, and, due to his numerous extramural activities, some of those who came and went never knew him with the familiarity that develops unheeded behind the sign of cloister. And yet, such was his extraordinary memory, that there never was a time, previous to his long illness, when he did not know every member of the community of eighty or more, and the work in which each one was engaged. His home coming after a foreign safari was looked forward to in anticipation of an interesting travelogue. He was an entertaining conversationalist in any company, an excellent raconteur, and quick at repartee, which he frequently illustrated with an apt quotation from Shakespeare or from the Greek and Latin classics. A good actor from his high school days, he had developed a humorous habit of surrounding the narrative of his personal experience with a dubious aureole of mystery or of secrecy, which he left for his listeners to fathom. To some who were unacquainted with it, this left him open to the charge of being secretive, esoteric, distant. This cryptical byplay is illustrated in the following incident. On one of his visits from Moscow to Rome during the period when he was director of the relief mission, rumor was spread about that he was consecrated bishop, to return to Moscow as apostolic delegate to Russia. Shortly after his return to America he was asked very bluntly by one of his fellow Jesuits, and in the company of a dozen others, whether or not he had ever been consecrated a bishop. The question was naive and direct, and the answer to it was a look of surprise, a two-handed gesture, and a shrug of the shoulders. This was followed with a humorous smile, which the company, still in doubt, were left to interpret. This rumor, like most of its kind which travel with the speed of a thermonuclear missile, had a solid basis for its projection. During the visit to Rome, just mentioned, Father Walsh would very

probably have been consecrated a bishop, to reside in Russia, were it not for the fact that on first mention of the idea he immediately went to the General of the Society of Jesus and begged him to prevent the occurrence, which the Father General did, as he himself afterwards affirmed to one of the priests then engaged on the Vatican relief mission.

The Priest

Among his many Protestant acquaintances Father Walsh was known as an exemplary churchman. To his Catholic brethren and listeners he was an energetic priest, whose addresses and lectures were laden with the fundamental doctrine and morality of the Catholic Church, couched in no uncertain terms. At his public golden jubilee dinner he was presented with a framed certificate of appreciation for his frequent contributions to the spiritual welfare of men in the armed services. During his stay in Russia, when the men working on the papal relief mission were forbidden to perform any religious service in public and were ordered to refrain from any form of proselytism, Catholic priests and Russian schismatic bishops and priests frequently came to Father Walsh for advice and for consolation. In writing, in teaching and in preaching, in founding schools, as he did in Washington and in Baghdad, on relief work in Russia, in settling church and state difficulties in Mexico, or in planning the reorganization of a Jesuit Province in Japan, the A.M.D.G. of the Society of Jesus was never absent from his mind as the fundamental motive of his every endeavor. Even as a patient during his long siege of illness, and up to the day he died, he still harbored the hope of returning to the work which he felt he had left unfinished. But his work was done, and well done. Its effects are international, as was his mind; they are centered in Georgetown, as was his heart; and in his memory they will go down through the years, a guerdon in attestation of a life of unstinted labor in the service of God. He was one of America's great Jesuits.

Father Walsh died a peaceful death on the 31st of October, 1956, and, despite the fact that he had been absent from public life for four years, the attendance at his funeral Mass was a high tribute to his reputation. The Mass was said by the Very

Reverend Vincent McCormick, S.J., American Assistant to the General of the Society. Seated on the altar were the Apostolic Delegate, Amleto Cicognani, Archbishop O'Boyle of Washington, his Auxiliary, Bishop McNamara, and Archbishop Yu Pin of Nanking, and present in the church were representatives of the President of the United States, of the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, the Senate, the House, and of many of the foreign embassies. President Eisenhower in a letter of condolence to Father Bunn, the president of Georgetown University said: "The death of Father Edmund A. Walsh is a grievous loss to the Society in which he served so many years, to the educational and religious life of the United States and to the free peoples of the Western World. For four decades, he was a vigorous and inspiring champion of freedom for mankind and independence for nations. His voice was influential throughout this country and in many lands overseas, because he spoke with knowledge and conviction and a sympathetic concern for all peoples. And, at every call to duty, all his energy of leadership and wisdom of counsel were devoted to the service of the United States. His University and his Society —all who knew him well—mourn his death. But they can find in his memory the deathless inspiration of a life that was dedicated to the advancement of human rights and dignity and spiritual stature."

BEGINNERS

Beginners like to turn their eyes away from outward conduct to the more hidden processes of their own spiritual experiences. If we allow a beginner to choose his own subject for particular examen of conscience, he will almost always choose some very delicate and imperceptible fault, the theatre of which is almost wholly within, or some refined form of selflove, whose metamorphoses are exceedingly difficult either to detect or to control. He will not choose his temper, or his tongue, or his love of nice dishes, or some unworthy habit which is disagreeable to those around him. Yet this is the rule of St. Ignatius; and surely no one will accuse him of not cultivating an interior spirit.

F. W. FABER

TWO INTERVIEWS WITH F. D. R. IN OCTOBER, 1933

First Interview

The President had done me the courtesy of inviting me to the White House on the very day when he announced to an astonished press that he had just dispatched an invitation to the Soviet Government to send a representative to Washington for the purpose of negotiating an agreement involving diplomatic recognition of the Soviet Union. It was shortly after four o'clock. The President had ascended from the executive offices to the Oval Room on the second floor of the White House. He was in an exhilarated mood and reflected in his outer bearing the thrill he always experienced in letting fall some new bombshell. After some few preliminaries of courtesy and protocol, we discussed with complete frankness the nature of the announcement which, at that moment, was circling the world on the wires of the newspaper agencies. I shall not here recount the complete substance of that extraordinary interview. One phrase, however, was particularly revealing. In reply to certain observations I had made respecting the difficulty of negotiating with the Soviets, he answered with that disarming assurance so characteristic of his technique in dealing with visitors: "Leave it to me, Father; I am a good horse trader."

This first interview terminated with his request that I prepare two reports for him, one dealing with my personal recommendations respecting religious liberty in Russia, the second with the personality and background of Maksim Litvinov, the Soviet negotiator then preparing to leave Moscow for Washington. The latter request was occasioned by my look of amazement when the President remarked: "Did you have any dealings with Litvinov? I understand he is a renegade Catholic."

My reply was to the effect that somebody must have been pulling the presidential leg, as Maksim Livinov was well known to be a Jew and had passed under several aliases, his family name being Finkelstein. Mr. Roosevelt tossed his head back, moving it from side to side in one of his characteristic gestures. Then, with a laugh, he fished into his pocket, and extricated a crumpled package: "Have a cigarette, Father?"

Second Interview

The two documents were delivered by me personally on October 31, 1933, at twelve o'clock noon, President Roosevelt receiving me this time in the executive office in the west wing of the White House. On entering the room, I perceived that we were not to be alone. At my left toward the north wall, a man was apparently working on a clay model of the

President's head. It was Mr. Jo Davidson, a well-known sculptor, born in Russia, who at that time and for many years thereafter was an enthusiastic advocate of causes considerably left of center. I understand that Mr. Davidson's affection for Moscow has cooled considerably in recent years. But on the date here under discussion, and because of the circumstances of my visit, I found his presence within easy hearing distance of whatever I might say so curious a coincidence that I chose an attitude of extreme reticence. This conference was short, due to the reservations suddenly imposed on me by the eavesdropper at my elbow.

EDMUND A. WALSH

CONTRASTS

The modern world has ceased to believe wholeheartedly in the extremes which Christianity has its mission to present as contrasts: poverty and riches, the Cross and comfort, humility and pride, the supernatural and the natural, Heaven and final perdition. Bloy called this unwillingness to face eternal facts, to grasp the sword of division, the *Esprit Bourgeois*, and he predicted a time when the poor would rise in wrath against those who had taken away from them their one hope in adversity.

MARTIN D'ARCY

* * *

INNER SANCTUARY

In an age of doubt man sows and does not reap; he has no courage in his convictions, he is like one beset with scruples who loses his sense of values and powers of steadfast judgment. The evil of unbelief is that it must shut its eye to the forms and patterns of truth inscribed in the universe, and retire to the inner sanctuary of the mind, there to rest in uncertainty, in the presence of a fugitive self and the broken idols of its hopes.

MARTIN D'ARCY

Father Miguel Selga

Miguel Selga was born on November 25th, 1879 in Barcelona, Spain, of Pablo Selga and Francisca Trullas Selga. He received his preparatory education in his native city and his college education in Zaragoza. He entered the Society of Jesus on March 30th, 1895.

His superiors, recognizing his aptitude for the natural sciences, decided to send Father Selga abroad for special studies in astronomy and meteorology. In 1911 he went to Woodstock College, Maryland, to complete the third and fourth years of theology and to familiarize himself with English. After tertianship at St. Andrew-on-Hudson, he did astronomical work in the Harvard observatory at Cambridge, Massachusetts and Lowell observatory at Flagstaff, Arizona, 1914-1915. He was pursuing his studies in Lick observatory, California, when he received word to proceed to Manila to replace Father Brown in the Jesuit observatory there. Father Brown, an English Jesuit, had been recalled to his Province due to the exigencies of World War I.

This sudden call to the Philippines resulted in Father Selga's being placed in the embarrassing position of being a man without a country. When he was sent to Woodstock for his last two years of theology, he was instructed to apply for American citizenship. He, therefore, took out his first papers, renouncing his Spanish allegiance. At the time of his appointment to the Philippines, he had fulfilled only four of the five years of residence in the United States required before he could take out second papers and become a citizen. Father Selga represented this need for another year of residence by cable but was instructed that because of the urgency he should leave for Manila at once; and so he did. On various occasions when he left the Philippines for scientific congresses he had no passport but simply a letter from the Governor General to the effect that he was an honest man and would behave himself. During the Japanese occupation the Spanish consul allowed Father Selga's name to be placed on the list of Spanish nationals, so he was not listed as an enemy alien.

Father Selga was appointed assistant director of the Manila observatory, and on January 1, 1926, succeeded Father José Algué as director when the latter was forced by failing health to retire and return to Spain. He retained this position until the total destruction of the observatory in the last year of the Pacific War (1945). During this period the Manila observatory functioned as the meteorological service of the Philippine government; of this weather bureau and its net of weather stations throughout the Philippines Father Selga was the director.

Naturally, most of Father Selga's time had to be given to administrative duties. He was known as a very efficient administrator, albeit perforce a little exacting. The budget allowance of the weather bureau was rather meager in those days. In fact, budget considerations gave Father many an anxious moment, trying to combine need for new instruments and demand for multitudinous telegrams for sufficient and efficient typhoon warnings with budget. Furthermore, much time had to be given to supervising the publication of the monthly review and annual report of the bureau, with their voluminous statistics.

In spite of these many duties, which would seem to leave very little time for aught else, Father Selga gained a reputation as an outstanding scientist, so well known that he was more than once publicly honored as such. But besides his ability as an administrator and scientist, let us stress aspects of his work that may not be so well known, his genius for historical research and ability as a scientific writer. Father Selga was rather timid, wrongly so, about his ability to write in English, so we must turn to Spanish magazines, like *Revista de la Sociedad Astronomica de España y America,* and *Iberica,* if we would appreciate this point. On examination we find that the number of scientific articles written by him for these magazines reaches the surprising total of well over one hundred and fifty.

Due to the ravages of World War II, much of Father Selga's writings, the patient work of ten years of free time, as also the official superintendence of revised statistical data on almost every conceivable element of weather, such as temperature, humidity, barometric pressure, rainfall, etc., with ac-

companying graphs were burned and irrevocably lost, although just ready for publication. The outcome of the ten years of work had been a labor of love—three very valuable catalogues: a) catalogue of all recorded typhoons in the Philippine region; b) catalogue of all recorded earthquakes in the Philippines; c) catalogue of all astronomical events recorded in the Philippines. Each typhoon, quake and astronomical event was given a printed card, a little larger than a library index card, which contained the source of information and a brief description of the event. For such information, Father had scoured all the records of monasteries and convents in the Islands. It is fair to say that with the loss of these manuscripts, combined with the probable loss of the original sources by destruction during the war of monasteries and convents, posterity has suffered an irreparable loss. We firmly believe that it was the loss of these statistical compilations, together with the much greater loss of these catalogues, that did more than anything else to break Father's spirit and health and discouraged him from further work along the same lines. We might well apply to him the lines in the *Merchant of Venice*, describing Antonio's loss: "Enough to wear a royal merchant down, and pluck commiseration for his state from hearts of stone".

Father Selga was a member of the Philippine delegation to two Pacific science congresses; the second (Sydney, 1923) and the third (Tokyo, 1926). At Sydney he presented two papers: "The Determination of Gravity at the Manila Observatory" and "The Determination of Gravity at Mirador Observatory." At Tokyo he presented five: "Astronomical and Meteorological Conditions of the Eclipse of the Sun, May 9, 1929, in the Philippines;" "The Latitude of the Manila Observatory;" "Investigation of the Upper Air by Means of Airplanes;" "Atmospheric Electricity and Typhoons;" and "The Height of Typhoons." In 1936, he attended the Meteorological Congress at Warsaw.

Father Selga was a member of the following learned societies: The Philippine Scientific Society, the National Research Council of the Philippines, the Philippine Geological Society, the American Astronomical Society, the Astronomical Society of the Pacific, the Société Astronomique de France; the So-

ciedad Astrónomica de España; the Société Scientifique de Bruxelles; and the Franklin Society.

In his spare time Father Selga did extensive reading in the history of the Philippines. Thanks to him and to Father William C. Repetti, chief of the seismological section of the observatory, the observatory library gradually acquired an excellent Philippiniana collection. As member of the Philippine historical committee organized by the Philippine Commonwealth government, Father Selga provided the information contained in many of the commemorative plaques affixed by the committee to historic sites and buildings.

When the Japanese occupation authorities interned the American Jesuits in 1944, the novitiate and juniorate of the Philippine Mission were transferred to temporary quarters at La Ignaciana on Herran Street with Father Selga as vice-rector. After the conclusion of World War II he went to Spain to seek a remedy for the glaucoma which had begun to impair his sight just before the outbreak of the War and which wartime conditions had aggravated. Some improvement resulted from an operation, and he returned to the Philippines; but his general health rapidly began to fail.

In the midst of his scientific work in the Manila observatory, Father Selga found time to devote to the direction of souls. His quiet apostolate was expended chiefly among the young men of the University of the Philippines who came to hear Mass in the chapel of the San José Seminary, and the girls of a school nearby, the Philippine Women's College. His confessional in this public chapel was often crowded before Mass every morning and on Saturday afternoons. His influence among the young men and women who came to seek his advice may be traced to the happy quality he had of combining profound scientific knowledge with a simplicity of approach.

During the Japanese occupation, he acted as master of novices for a while. Those who were his novices recall that he looked stern and forbidding in manner. But he told them, "If I seem rough to you, it is because I want to make men of you." Underneath that austere look beat a heart, gentle and kind.

For more than thirty years, he acted as the spiritual counselor of the Philippine Women's College. From 1919 until

the outbreak of World War II, he used to teach catechism and and give lectures there once a week, after his office hours in the observatory. Many girls were converted from Aglipayanism through his influence. Often Father Selga not only converted the student but brought back to the faith the entire family. He believed that "the person is never to be divorced from the family" and this principle he applied so effectively that it led him to take trips to the provinces to meet the parents and relatives of the children. This is how his influence spread beyond the observatory. His prodigious memory for names of a family is legendary. Some time before he died, one of these students, now a married woman, came to him, after he received a degree in science from the Philippine Women's University, and said to him: "Father, do you remember me?" It had been many years since he met her. Father Selga answered: "Yes, I remember. I married you to your husband at four o'clock in the morning! Where's Bernardino?"

In 1955 the Philippine Women's University conferred upon him the honorary degree of doctor of science, and in 1956 he was the recipient of an award from the UNESCO commission of the Philippines for bringing honor to his adopted country by his meritorious achievements in the field of science.

Father Selga died on April 23, 1956, at San José Seminary, Quezon City, mourned by his many friends and a grateful people.

KEMPIS

All down the centuries, men have admired and praised the *Imitation.* It has not been a classic in the sense of a book that everyone praises and very few read, but on the contrary it has been the familiar reading of a great many of the chosen spirits among mankind ever since its appearance. To have been the favorite book of St. Thomas More, Bossuet and Massillon, of Loyola and Bellarmine, of John Wesley, Samuel Johnson, Lamartine, La Harpe, Michelet, Leibnitz and Villemain is indeed a distinction. Nor has it appealed only to Christians, for men like Renan and Comte almost in our own time have praised it highly.

JAMES J. WALSH

Brother Alphonse Thorain
1865-1954

LAWRENCE W. BEER, S.J.

The bell tolled, books were shoved aside, and birettas donned. The long black line of Jesuits passed to the cemetery at Mt. St. Michael's to bury their brother in Christ, loveable Brother Alphonse Thorain. The body which had housed his vigorous soul lay peacefully in the casket, worn out by seventy-two years of hard labor for the Kingdom of Christ.

The world might laugh if it could hear us lauding the life of this simple Coadjutor Brother. We might be asked, "What did he do? What schools and churches did he build? Where are his converts, his books?" And so on. Then it would be our turn to laugh, for we could say that his accomplishments have been swallowed up and assimilated by the members of his Province. Brother Thorain was a cook. But who knows the love, the only real measure of value, with which he peeled potatoes, fried meat, and swept the kitchen floor? This we can only guess from his consistency in kindness and work.

"And who is this? And where does he come from?" This was Brother's approach to others, and it will be ours in his regard. Alphonse Thorain was born in 1865 at Orleans, France, home town of St. Isaac Jogues. When fourteen he began working at the nearby Jesuit college. As a result of this happy contact, the short, husky Alphonse was drawn to the Society of Jesus two years later. It must have been more than the usual sacrifice for his parents, when their only child left for the English Novitiate, never to return to France.

Brother Alphonse worked first in England as a tailor's helper (at the home of Gerard Manley Hopkins, the great Jesuit poet, incidentally). From there he made the trip to Jersey Island to cook for the Jesuit scholastics, a couple of years before crossing the Atlantic to America. In 1886 he moved across the United States with the well-known Jesuit pioneers, Fathers Cataldo, Monroe and Crimont (future

BROTHER ALPHONSE THORAIN

Bishop of Alaska) and helped establish the Rocky Mountain mission. From then until 1917 when he came to Mt. St. Michael's, Brother Thorain served the Indian and white population around the northwest. His various homes were the Colville, De Smet and Umatilla Missions, and finally Spokane (then known as Spokane Falls). As late as 1953 "Little Salmon", as the Indians called him, still marked the return address on his letters "Spokane Falls".

When asked about his work with the Indians, Brother Thorain smiled and said, "Indians are good children." On his sixtieth jubilee he was asked to comment on his life at Mt. St. Michael's. After a moment of silence, he raised his intense, half-smiling face: "Tell all the people I like my work. I like all our houses because I like our communities. I like the Scholastics."

Love of Flowers

"I like"—these words sum up Brother's childlike outlook on life. He liked his work, so much so that he began before five in the morning and continued till late at night. He liked the people he served. And he liked to pray. His life drew its meaning principally from these two things, work and prayer. In back of the kitchen amid onion and potato sacks Brother had his own private oratory, where he would kneel during off moments. But he liked to go to God most of all through flowers and other plant life. This led him to keep up a small flower garden behind the kitchen, where he would stand and gratefully gaze at the graceful petals God had created for him.

Every year on the Coadjutor Brothers' gaudiosa day, Brother Thorain could be seen slipping away from the house around mid-morning. This was always a mystery to first year Scholastics, for all the other Brothers were off somewhere on a drive. *He* was off to neighboring greenhouses to look around at the flowers. Late in the day he would purchase a flower and come home to tell everyone about the wonderful kingdom of plants he had seen.

Finding just the right meditation book is quite a problem for many religious. Not so for Brother Thorain. A seed, a leaf and a blossom were commonly seen arranged on his

work table. These were his meditation manual, points written by God's own hand. In the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius this method of prayer is referred to as the *Contemplatio ad amorem.*

Captain of the Kitchen

Brother Alphonse had the natural culture and balance which God seems to grant so often to truly simple souls. In his dealings with others he was direct, clear-sighted and confident without losing gentleness and tact. But if one was working under this captain of the kitchen, he had to do things just right. For instance, one had to make sure there were not too many dishes on the refectory carts. This recalls the amusing sight of the very short Brother Thorain pushing a cart down one of the aisles, peering out from under the top level.

Though he was never what you could call bubblingly sociable, people found his company enjoyable and amusing. When the Scholastics' parents would come to the Mount for visits, Brother Thorain's invariable question upon introduction was, "Do you speak French?"

For a long time he had trouble with rheumatism, but only after more than thirty years of service at Mt. St. Michael's did it force him to relinquish his command of the kitchen and turn to less strenuous jobs. Even in his last days Brother made himself as useful as possible to the community that he liked.

At the feast in honor of his seventieth anniversary as a Jesuit, he sat next to Father Provincial. With his typically amusing simplicity, he asked the surprised Father, "And who are you; and where do you come from; and what do you do?" Two years after this celebration, at the age of eighty-nine, Alphonse Thorain went to heaven, where he is still spreading the Kingdom of Christ through his silent prayer.

Books of Interest to Ours

BEST AMERICAN JESUIT WORK ON SCRIPTURE

The Two-Edged Sword. An Interpretation of the Old Testament. *By John L. McKenzie, S.J.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1956. $4.50.

The biblical revival in the Catholic Church, already under way in parts of Europe in the thirties and given world-wide impetus by the encyclical letter *Divino Afflante Spiritu* (1943), has resulted in a considerable amount of scholarly and popular writing by Catholics. In the area of *haute vulgarisation* of the Old Testament, French writers have taken the lead; besides the incomparable *Bible de Jérusalem*, they are publishing the series *Lectio Divina* and *Témoins de Dieu*, and have produced many other books and articles. In German and English speaking countries production has been much slower and often much inferior. The *Catholic Commentary* from England is a work of very unequal value and by no means adequately fills the gap for the English speaking world; the translation of Monsignor Knox, though approved for public and liturgical reading by the English hierarchy, does not fulfill the papal directive to make translations from the original languages and is, besides, far from approaching the ideal of an Old Testament translation. For English readers the still incomplete American Confraternity version will be infinitely superior. The Germans have fared much better with their *Bonner Bibel* and *Echter Bibel*, and from Switzerland, H. Haag has produced a fine *Bibel-Lexikon*, really a translation and new edition of the Dutch *Bijbelsch Woordenboek* (1941).

In the area of synthesis of the religious teaching of the Old Testament, even the French have not produced anything exactly like the work of Father McKenzie. The works of A.-M. Dubarle (1946), J. Guitton (1947), and A. Gelin (1949) are more limited in scope; J. Guillet's *Thèmes bibliques* is selective and cannot be called popular. The present work differs, too, from C. Charlier's *La lecture chrétienne de la Bible* which devotes far more space to the peripheral areas of biblical study and to the practical and esthetic values of the Bible.

Father McKenzie undertakes a spiritual interpretation of the Old Testament and he is at pains to make clear that he does not intend allegorical or symbolic interpretation such as we find in the Church Fathers, nor the so-called fuller sense of the Scriptures. His effort is to get at the religious teaching and meaning of the Old Testament as understood by the Israelite readers and writers themselves. While the book is not an introduction to the Old Testament in the technical sense, some problems traditionally considered part of introduction, v.g., the origin and history of the Old Testament and its use, the idea of inspiration, and the question of the canon, do form the bulk of the first chapter. The book is not a biblical theology, though it could serve as preparation

for a biblical theology which would turn out to be vastly different from the work of Heinisch.

A glance at the table of contents gives some idea of the wide range of material covered: cosmic and human origins, the national origins of Israel, the history of Israel (in its religious import), Israelite thought on the themes of hope, wisdom, evil, after-life, prayer, and the nature of God. A final chapter discusses the relation between the Old Testament and the New.

The author feels that his book is just a beginning. Actually, many more things could have been treated. By choice the author has not taken up development of late post-exilic Judaism which, however, has definite importance for the origins of Christianity. Chapters on the reforming work of Ezra and Nehemiah, on the Chronicler's interpretation of Israelite history, and on the late wisdom books would have been welcome. Nevertheless, from the material covered the reader will get an excellent idea of the religious thought of the golden age of Hebrew and Israelite history.

Though the author has studiously avoided the use of documentation, his colleagues will be well aware of the scholarship that is behind the work. He is quite well known from previous articles in learned journals and has won respect in all quarters. He has made use of the most recent work of scholarship in all circles and has reflected long and carefully on the conclusions adopted.

The reviewer wishes to acknowledge that he is in complete sympathy with the author's approach and is, in fact, usually in complete agreement with the author's conclusions. But this community of feeling does not mean that the reviewer would agree with every detail of the author's interpretation. For example, the reviewer would look on the sin in the garden from a different viewpoint and would be quite skeptical of polemical purposes in any of Genesis. This, however, does not mean that the author's views should be suspected by Catholics; they have been in the past and are at present maintained by Continental and American scholars. But the author and the reviewer are both conscious that their opinions are sheerly points of view.

Again, in understanding the phrase, "God reveals himself in history," the reviewer is inclined to think that the author plays down too much its importance. The reviewer feels that God's nature and demands were manifested to Israel much more by what He did than by what He said. The great acts by which God rescued Israel from Egypt, chose her for His own and made a covenant with her, and brought her into the land of promise were more eloquent than any sermon; in the providence of God, Israel knew that the Lord had accomplished them and so was not tempted to attribute them to a deity of the nature of Assur or Marduk. We cannot, of course, neglect the role of God speaking even though it is difficult to understand how He did speak to Moses and his prophets.

These, however, are points for discussion between the author and his professional colleagues and do not in the least detract from the

worth of his book. This is a book that can be read and reread, preferably with Bible in hand. The style is easy and graceful, sober and concrete; the reader will feel himself transported into a different world—the world of the thought, feeling, and expression of the men of the Old Testament. No Catholic book on the Old Testament in any language is quite like the present work; it can take a proud place in the literature, both Catholic and non-Catholic. It is easily the best book on the Bible ever written by an American Jesuit.

G. S. GLANZMAN, S.J.

NOT GOOD

The Sources of Catholic Dogma. *Translated by Roy J. Deferrari from the Thirtieth Edition of Henry Denzinger's Enchiridion Symbolorum.* B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis, 1957. Pp. xxxiv-653-[67]. $8.50.

Next to the Bible, Denzinger's *Enchiridion* has been the most important reference work for the theologian. In recent years the need of a good translation has become more urgent. Unfortunately, Doctor Deferrari's translation is not good. This judgement is based on a careful reading of D.'s translations of the basic creeds of Christendom and the decisions of the first eighteen ecumenical councils.

The Eastern version of the Apostles' Creed has twelve brief articles. In this translation there are four inaccuracies. The creed expresses faith in one God . . . *maker* and not *creator* of heaven and earth; in Jesus Christ . . . *through whom* and not *by whom* all things were made; in the Holy Spirit . . . who spoke *in* or *through*, but surely not *among* the prophets; in one baptism *unto the remission* of sins and not *in the dismissal* of sins (D 9). The first two inaccuracies occur again in the creed of the first ecumenical council, that of Nicaea (D 54). The second inaccuracy is still found in the Nicene-Constantinople creed of the second ecumenical council, that of Constantinople I (D 86).

Two major dogmatic errors appear in D.'s translation of the famous second letter of Cyril to Nestorius, which was read and approved at the third ecumenical Council, that of Ephesus. The Council says that "the Word, in an ineffable and inconceivable manner, having hypostatically united to Himself flesh, animated by a rational soul, became Man and was called the Son of Man" (D111a). D. translates: ". . . rather (we say) that the Word uniting with Himself according to person is a body animated by a rational soul, marvelously and incomprehensibly was made man, and was the Son of man . . ." In the same excerpt from Cyril's letter, the Council says: "For it was no ordinary man who was first born of the holy Virgin and upon whom only afterwards did the Word descend . . ." D. misplaces the adverb *proton (primo)* with the following confusion: "For in the first place no common man was born of the holy Virgin; then the Word thus descended upon him . . ." D.'s

concluding statement ". . . he is said to have endured a generation in the flesh in order to appropriate the producing of His own body," is all but unintelligible. The Council concludes: ". . . He is said to have undergone fleshly birth, claiming as His own the birth of His own flesh." Finally, the editors of the *Enchiridion* give a reference to the anathemas of Cyril which were added to Cyril's letter to Nestorius, as well as a reference to the anathemas of Nestorius against Cyril. D. speaks of "Those anathematized who were added to the Epistle," and the "Anathematized of Nestorius against Cyril."

The translation of the Latin version of the definition of Chalcedon on the two natures of Christ omits a *nusquam* with the unfortunate result that the distinction of natures is denied: "the distinction of natures removed on account of the union" (D 148).

Canon 7 of the fifth eumenical Council, that of Constantinople II, omits in translation "as well as in His Manhood" (D 219). The Fathers of the sixth ecumenical Council, that of Constantinople III, "embrace with open arms" the suggestion of pope St. Agatho. This is weakly translated "willingly accept" (D 289). The seventh ecumenical Council, that of Nicaea II, bears the heading "Definition of the Sacred Images and Tradition." Since sacred images were not defined, it would have been better to translate *de* as *concerning*. The translation of the definition is very poor, concluding with the extraordinary observation: "For the honor of the image passes to the original, and he who shows reverence to the image, shows reverence to the substance *(subsistentiam)* of Him depicted in it" (D 302). We might note that the Council is speaking here of the images of Christ, of the Blessed Virgin and of the Saints, not only "of Him."

The question of sacred images is taken up again in the eighth ecumenical Council, that of Constantinople IV. D.'s translation of canon three is symptomatic of the kind of English one meets with in the early sections of the present volume: "We adore the sacred images of our Lord Jesus Christ in like honor with the book of the holy Gospels. For as through the syllables carried in it, we all attain salvation, so through the imaginal energies of the colors both all the wise and the unwise from that which is manifest enjoy usefulness; for the things which are the sermon in syllables, these things also the writing which is in colors teaches and commands . . ." (D 337).

Canon 10 of the First Lateran Council (ec. X) says: "Let no one impose hands on a bishop for his consecration unless he has been canonically elected" (D 363). D. translates: "Let no one unless canonically elected extend his hand for consecration to the episcopacy." The second Lateran Council (ec. XI) speaks of feigned or insincere repentance. D. speaks of "false penitence." The Council prescribes that heretics be restrained by the "secular powers *(potestates exteras)*" (D 367). D. translates "by exterior powers."

The third Lateran Council, (ec. XI) has but two brief chapters recorded. In the second chapter (D 401) *"in Gasconia, Albigesio* et

partibus Tolosanis" is translated "in Gascony, in Albigesium, and in parts of Tolosa." The fourth Lateran Council (ec. XII) condemns the error of the Abbot Joachim on the Trinity. There was need throughout for a trained theologian to attempt a translation of this difficult section. D.'s attempt to translate "*alius sit Pater, alius Filius, alius Spiritus Sanctus, non tamen aliud*" comes close to Sabellianism: "one is the Father, another the Son, and another the Holy Spirit, *yet they are not different*" (D 432).

The translation of the excerpts from the thirteenth ecumenical Council, that of Lyons I, reads badly. The following passage is also inaccurate. Innocent IV interprets the sin against the Holy Spirit in Mt. 12:32 as meaning that "some sins are forgiven in the present life, others only in the world to come" (D 456). D. translates: ". . . by this it is granted that certain sins of the present be understood which, however, are forgiven in the future life." The profession of faith of the second Council of Lyons (ec. XIV) in translation begins: ". . . we declare *(fatemur)* that the Holy Spirit proceeds eternally from the Father and the Son, not as from two beginnings *(principiis)*, but from one beginning, not from two breathings (spirationibus), but from one breathing" (D 461). Additional professions of faith are introduced by Denzinger under the heading [*Varia*]. This becomes *Variant Readings* in D.'s translation. An earlier [*Varia*], introducing n. 425, was translated *Variations*.

The Council of Vienne (ec. XV) is concerned principally with the errors of Peter John Olivi. As was true in the case of the Abbot Joachim, the point at issue is again delicate and needed a trained philosopher as well as a theologian to translate accurately the Church's decision. The Council insists that the rational or intellectual soul is truly and of itself *the* form of the human body. D., missing the point completely, translates the heading [*De anima* ut forma corporis] as [The soul as *a* form of the body], and in the body of the definition speaks of the "substance of the rational or intellective soul" as "truly and in itself a form of the human body." (D 481).

The Council of Constance (ec. XVI) met to condemn the errors of Wycliffe, Huss and their followers. In the translation of the errors of Wycliffe we read the following: "It is not established in the Gospel that Christ arranged *(ordinaverit)* the Mass" (D 585). "One bringing alms to the Brothers is excommunicated by that very thing *(eo facto)*" (D 600). In a concluding note to this section the editors of the *Enchiridion* refer the reader to n. 661 where the theological censures attached to these 45 articles of Wycliffe are found among the questions to be put to the Wycliffites and the Hussites. D. translates: "See the theological censures of these 45 articles to be proposed to the Wycliffites and the Hussites, n. 11 (661 below)." A similar reference on the part of the editors follows the listing of the errors of John Huss. This time D. translates *Interrogationes Wicleffitis et Hussitis proponendas*, but they are not the Council's questions to be proposed to the Wycliffites and

the Hussites, but "Questions of Wycliffe and Huss to be proposed."

The Council of Florence (ec. XVII) is important for its defense of the *Filioque*. It argues that "since all that the Father has, the Father, in begetting, has given to His only begotten Son, with the exception of Fatherhood, the very fact that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son the Son Himself has from the Father, by whom He was begotten also eternally" (D 691). Rearranging the phrasing, and translating *quoniam* as that, D. obscures the meaning, and suggests in the concluding phrase that the Holy Spirit not only proceeds from the Son but was also eternally begotten of the Son: "And that all things, which are the Father's, the Father Himself has given in begetting His only begotten Son; without being Father, the Son Himself possesses this from the Father, that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Son from whom He was moreover eternally begotten."

Denzinger's *Enchiridion* gives but one excerpt from the eighteenth ecumenical Council, that of Lateran V (D 738). Accordingly, the other topics which are dealt with by Leo X, including the Errors of Martin Luther, should not bear the page heading *Lateran Council V*. The single excerpt defines the oneness of the soul in each individual, its multiplicity in many bodies, and its immortality. Unfortunately, D. omits the definition of the soul's immortality. The concluding sanction is inaccurately translated.

In a work of such monumental proportions it would be unjust to apply too rigorously the addage: *Bonum ex integra causa, malum ex quocumque defectu.* Unquestionably, the quality of D.'s translations improves as the work progresses. However, in a work entitled *The Sources of Catholic Dogma*, there are too many defects in the translation of the basic sources to allow us to call D.'s translation good. For this reason we cannot recommend the present volume until the sections dealing with the Apostles' Creed and the first eighteen ecumenical Councils of the Church have been thoroughly revised or, better, redone.

PAUL F. PALMER, S.J.

OPTIMISM AND PRECISION

The Catholic Viewpoint on Race Relations. *By John LaFarge, S.J.* Garden City: Hanover House, 1956. Pp. 190. $2.95.

This is the first of a series of books which will examine crucial problems facing Catholics in the United States today. If the later treatises match the excellence and thoroughness of Father LaFarge's present work, this will be a reference series of real and lasting value for every thinking Catholic.

The first section of the book outlines the problem of race relations in general. The nature of segregation and the vicious circle which it entails are carefully studied. In looking at the history-making decision of the

United States Supreme Court, Father LaFarge develops the significant observation of the Court that many of the intangibles of education in a free society are denied to the child who is forced to attend a segregated school. The author then proceeds to study the Catholic record and Catholic principles affecting this area of human life. He makes mention of the limited apostolic work among the Negroes, due to the apathy, lack of support, and hostility of some Catholics. The magnificent work currently being done by the Catholic interracial councils, colleges and Negro leaders is pointed out.

The third section of the book deals in a very practical manner with what the individual can do to help in this field, both as an individual and as a member of an organization. The opportunities which parents have to eliminate prejudice in their children are studied, as is the perennial question of interracial marriage. We are cautioned to seek information before acting in this area of human relations, as much well-intentioned action has had disastrous results, due to lack of correct information. A listing is made of the organizations which can supply this sorely-needed information and guidance. In this connection, a well deserved word of praise is given to an organization, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which in recent months has been the victim of numerous unfounded and vicious attacks. In the final chapters of the work, the meaning of moderation in action is explained and illustrated. The book finishes with a brief consideration of the Church's position on interracial marriage, and a study of an inspiring venture in interracial living, known as the Manhasset Project.

The author treats with optimism and precision an area which too often in the past has been marked by a defeatist style of thinking. The most striking impression given by the book is that of real confidence that a solution will soon be had for the problems discussed. If the reader did not know otherwise, he would envision the author as a man of some thirty-five or forty odd years. Father LaFarge certainly shares the confidence of the younger workers in this field that the solution is near at hand. May God spare him for many years that he may see the joy of that day.

FRANK C. BOURBON, S.J.

SECOND TO NONE

St. Ignatius' Own Story. *Translated by William J. Young, S.J.* Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1956. Pp. xii-138.

In a number of ways the first section of this work is like the book of the *Spiritual Exercise*. It is, first of all, Ignatius' own story of his life. Secondly, its length comes close to that of the book of the *Exercises* and its style is as matter-of-fact. And finally, though on a different plane from that of the *Exercises*, its contents also give an exposition of the roots of everything Ignatian. This translation was

overdue: it stands now as the first translation into English of the autobiography since the turn of the century, and as the first made from the original Spanish and Italian text. In his rendition Father Young has rightly preferred to keep close to the simplicity of the original wherever possible, and so to avoid using his polished prose style.

The second half of this work gives English readers a sampling of Ignatius' thousands of letters. Father Young has selected some that are interesting in themselves and important for understanding the spirit of Ignatius in his advice, government and spiritual counsel. These letters, with the exception of three (nos. 2, 4, 5), are not contained in a previous English translation of some of Ignatius' letters (London, 1914). Throughout this book the introductions and footnotes are especially well done: they fulfill their function of making the essential matter more interesting and more intelligible. The printing and format are likewise splendid. Nothing distracts readers from the Ignatian content. As a whole, of the books that appeared in English on Ignatius in 1956, this may well be the least catching for general readers; but for Jesuits (and mature, interested non-Jesuits) it ranks second to none for its basic historical content.

KENNETH C. BOGART, S.J.

ORIGINAL AND EFFECTIVE

Man's Knowledge of Reality: An Introduction to Thomistic Epistemology. *By Frederick D. Wilhelmsen.* Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1956. $4.00.

Mr. Wilhelmsen's textbook of Thomistic *and* existential—he would not take the two as necessarily synonymous—epistemology is a rather radical departure from the format of most manuals. Indeed the very extent and depth of his departure from the ordinary course in criteriology, whose happy demise the author hails, may cause some to look askance and go no further. But that would be unfortunate.

It is easy enough to total up what could be considered defects in Wilhelmsen's work. As a text it presupposes courses in both metaphysics and the philosophy of man, which puts it out of the order of courses in many of our colleges and universities. Perhaps Wilhelmsen's own Santa Clara is an exception. Then there is the problem of language. Wilhelmsen is a stylist who uses language in an original and often highly effective way. Still the style does at times lead to obscurity through a certain imprecision or by seeming to bury a point completely. Some might find certain judgments rather excessively polemical; others, still more staid, might object (though unwisely) to his willingness to pun.

More serious still are some doctrinal points. One is caught up short by the universality of the assertion that the "subject is *never* understood as such in any judgment (p. 105)." The explanation that follows, while admittedly argued with great cogency, does not seem to deal with

the so-called analytic judgments whose truth, *terminis notis*, is immediately seen. Still stranger is the conclusion that history, even "in the broad, non-technical sense of any information possessed about the past," possesses the character of metaphysical certitude (p. 168). There seems to be a confusion between the necessity of fact—what was cannot not have been—and the certitude proper to my knowledge of that fact. Likewise there is a failure to distinguish the two distinct but not unrelated means of contradiction. Hence, it is absurdly easy, but withal a little unfair, to reduce Occasionalism to a flat contradiction (p. 91). It is even more difficult to understand how the first truth of realism can be "Being is" in the light of the thorough-going existential interpretation that is given both to *being* and to *is*. There is at least ambiguity in the statement, if not existential redundancy (p. 41 ff.).

Yet it would be misleading to end a review on such a critical note. For these criticisms are but a way of saying, albeit negatively, that a very fine book might have been better. And it *is* a very fine book, filled with much of positive value, conceived and executed with a real and always refreshing insight into the basic problems of an epistemology that is genuinely realistic. The concrete approach to the notion of *representation* is superb. The section (chap. 10) on the structure and meaning of the judgment is excellent though difficult reading, and it is a real attempt to get beyond the logical conception of judgment as a process of "composing and dividing" concepts. Indeed almost every page is filled with interesting reflections and correlations that give evidence of a very facile and alert mind. The approach to problems is always new, so new in fact that the retention of the traditional three degrees of certitude seems almost an anomaly. One would like to have seen Wilhelmsen develop his principles even into this knotty field.

In sum one cannot but recommend the book most highly. It is not that Wilhelmsen has solved all the problems nor that he has turned out the perfect text. But any teacher of epistemology could profit by a serious reading of his attempt to discuss real problems. The theologian too should find his explanation of the symbolic phantasm most enlightening and suggestive in light of the current interest in the truth value of myth.

H. R. Burns, S.J.

EMINENTLY PRACTICAL

Guidance for Religious. *By Gerald Kelly, S.J.* Westminster: Newman Press, 1956. Pp. xi-321. $4.50.

The proven value and continued popularity of Father Kelly's many excellent articles in the *Review for Religious*, has prompted their republication in book form by Newman Press under the title of *Guidance for Religious*. Although the book consists of a collection of articles written over a period of years, it has a surprising unity which is well

established in the introduction by a concise explanation of the nature and scope of spiritual direction.

The emotional life of the religious is the subject of the opening chapters, which include Father Kelly's penetrating analysis of emotional maturity, a high point, to this reviewer's mind, in the whole book. Today, when there is so much emphasis on psychological testing of applicants, not only to the religious life, but for almost every professional vocation as well, the principles and solid applications laid down by Father Kelly are invaluable. Emphasis is placed on the need for personal responsibility in thought and action, unselfishness, and on open-mindedness. Thus we are presented with the practical goals to be sought on one side of the persistent enigma faced by every master of novices; how to develop emotional maturity while at the same time fostering religious obedience. One could wish Father Kelly would complement this outstanding analysis of emotional maturity with another study treating specifically of its relationship to obedience in religious life.

Perhaps the most helpful suggestions toward spiritual progress are found in the chapters devoted to confession. While the value of devotional confessions is emphasized today by spiritual writers, we are constantly warned against the dangers of routine. For most, the danger is all too obvious; the difficulty is what to do about it! Here Father Kelly lays down four definite rules on how to make good confessions better, explaining them at some length by particular illustrations of confessional defects in matter of form. A subsequent chapter on contrition also affords some workable methods to diminish the dulling effects of frequent confession.

Two other exceptional chapters of the book deal with vocational counseling and the qualities of a good moral guide. If linked with the first chapter on emotional maturity, they form an excellent source of reference for anyone engaged in counseling. While giving numerous practical hints, these chapters nevertheless manage to convey a comprehensive picture of the whole, and a feel for the subject which is remarkable in such brevity.

The few sections of the book consisting of a moralist's treatment of the minimum requirements in our duties toward God, suffer greatly in comparison with the rest of the book. The reader is forcefully reminded of the numerous appeals in modern times for a more positive approach to moral theology. Certainly if such an approach would elicit more chapters in our moral theology text books comparable to Father Kelly's positive treatises described above, it is a consummation devoutly to be wished! There is a final chapter on the Catholic attitude toward the race question which seems out of place since it does not, at least to the same extent as the other chapters, fall under the unifying scope of spiritual direction set forth in the introduction.

The book as a whole is an eminently practical work, a handy reference clarifying ideas and offering concrete solutions to many of the everyday problems that occur in the pursuit of religious perfection. It sparkles

with anecdotes which often explain the matter better than any detailed explanation ever could.

J. ROCHE, S.J.

WHAT IS SOCIAL JUSTICE?

Social Justice. *By William F. Drummond, S.J.* Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1956. Pp. v-132. $2.00.

This little work is a distinct contribution to the study of the much disputed nature of social justice. Whether or not one accepts Father Drummond's theory on the nature of social justice, it is impossible to deny that this work is the fruit of long and careful thought. The first chapter provides an excellent background for the subsequent discussion by summarizing the principles necessary for an understanding of social justice in relation to the human person. The next two chapters analyze the thought of the two great Encyclicals of Pius XI on the virtue of social justice and after a brief analysis of St. Thomas's "stewardship of wealth" concept, which he identifies with the virtue of social justice, Father Drummond formulates his own definition of social justice as a distinct virtue, namely, "A virtue which deals with the economic order of society as distinct from but part of the common good." More concretely, it is the virtue which is concerned with the management of private property in as much as it is destined to serve the needs of all men. In the final chapters of his work, the author puts in a plea for a re-evaluation of the traditional approach of the manuals to the question of ownership in modern industrial society and concretely indicates lines along which development is needed. For those who feel that our ethics and moral courses have yet to accomodate themselves to economic realities, these few chapters should be encouraging. Yet it may be questioned whether Father Drummond has actually established the theory into which he fits his study, namely, that social justice is a virtue distinct from legal justice. Nowhere do the Encyclicals cited use the term social justice as applying exclusively to the economic order. Nevertheless, the author's insistence on and his development of the social character of economic possessions stands apart from the theoretical framework and is in itself a valuable contribution to the field of Catholic social thought. It is to be hoped that the rich fields of study suggested by the author will not remain unexplored by Catholic moralists and social scientists.

JOHN F. DOHERTY, S.J.

LABOR AND MANAGEMENT

Co-Responsibility in Industry. *By Jeremiah Newman.* Westminster: The Newman Press, 1955. Pp. xxiii-187. $4.00.

In order to provide one effective means for the development of human personality in present day industrial society, Pius XII has, on more than

one occasion, spoken on the desirability of workers' participation in management. Credit must be given to Rev. Jeremiah Newman, professor of sociology at St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, for putting out a book in English on the controversial subject of joint management of industry by owners and workers. From the disparate "management sharing" literature that has grown after World War II, Professor Newman has given us a complete study, first, of the Catholic teaching on co-management, and secondly, of the different co-management legislations and systems that have been tried in various countries. Professor Newman has prudently and satisfactorily shown the feasibility of co-management without in any way watering down the dangers and difficulties involved in its introduction. All through the book, he has shown that responsibility is the key to a successful and working co-management program.

The greater part of the book, and by far the more important, is devoted to study of co-management legislation and systems in Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, and of co-management experiments in Britain, Ireland, and the United States. As a result of this critical study from the Catholic viewpoint, Professor Newman offers the following suggestions: 1) a system of co-responsibility should not be rushed into unthinkingly by state legislation, but should be left to the free choice of industries; 2) each industry should find for itself the best organization for the purpose; 3) the introduction of a system of co-responsibility, patterned on that of Holland, would seem to meet the demands of Pope Pius XII regarding greater respect for the human element in industry; 4) any system of co-responsibility will not work unless there be a radical psychological change on the part of owners and workers alike and unless the human element in industry be impregnated with the Christian spirit of social justice tempered by social charity. The papal proposal of joint management will be realized only when the worker has been taught responsibility and the owner has been shown that joint-management is good, profitable business. The book has an appendix containing the German co-determination law of May 21, 1951, the Belgian law of September 20, 1948, and the Netherlands law of May 4, 1950.

VITALIANO R. GOROSPE, S.J.

INTRODUCTION TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF ST. THOMAS AQUINAS, III

Psychology. *By H. D. Gardeil, O.P.* Translated by John A. Otto. St. Louis: B. Herder, 1956. Pp. xiii-303.

This introductory text for the psychology of St. Thomas, the third in a series of four, is carefully and skillfully ordered according to the plan of Aristotle's *De Anima* and St. Thomas's commentary on it. All of the key theses of the Thomistic synthesis on man are included. The whole matrix of thought, then, is that of St. Thomas and his leading

commentators. So too, unfortunately, are the limits of discussion. This is not to say that the truths about man that St. Thomas taught are not perennially important and necessary. They are. But the complexus of facts which demand assessment, use or rejection by the Thomist philosopher today is much wider and more detailed. Those teachers, therefore, who were favorably impressed by the recent texts of Donceel and Klubertanz, might well find this text book too stringently delimited. It is not that Father Gardeil is unaware of experimental psychology or unappreciative of the insights it has given and the problems it has raised: his introduction shows the contrary to be true. Indeed he is aware that some might receive a faulty impression of his work because of his curtailment of empirical data (p. 234). But, perhaps because he intended to write a philosophical or metaphysical psychology, he has chosen to treat of modern problems only in passing. Hence, his book may not have that degree of concreteness that some would look for. However, Father Gardeil's text can be of great value as a supplement to the class text. Its clarity and orderly presentation are a great advantage in what is an exceedingly complex area of investigation. On that score, despite whatever other reservations might be made, there can be complete agreement on the fact that the author has written a fine and scholarly exposition of the traditional teaching of St. Thomas. That is no small merit and, by way of supplementing and summarizing a more concrete and inductive approach, it can be a great one.

H. R. Burns, S.J.

DEVELOPMENT OF PHILOSOPHY

A Short History of Philosophy. *By F. J. Thonnard, A.A.* Translated by Edward A. Maziarz, C. PP. S. Tournai: Desclée, 1955. Pp. 1074. $6.50.

While the value of the history of philosophy as an apt means of teaching philosophy itself has long been recognized, the attempt to exploit this more concrete and problematic approach to philosophy has been hampered by the lack of a good, one volume history of philosophy in English. That of Turner is surely out of date, while others by non-Catholics (e.g., that of Thilly-Wood) either slight Christian philosophy or require a degree of discernment that is beyond the abilities of the undergraduate student. This English translation, therefore, is assured a happy reception in this country. Brief though it is, it is no mere compendium of facts which have been detached from all meaningful context. Factual data there is, and in plentitude, especially in the ample and up-to-date bibliographies. Father Thonnard's purpose, however, goes beyond that of an annalist. He desires to give some understanding at least of the philosophical doctrines of the great men in philosophy. He adds too in each case criticisms which are balanced and just. In

general the translation reads well. But on certain points the English does not clearly and adequately convey the meaning intended. Despite blemishes, however, the translation should fill a long and seriously felt need in American colleges. It is admirably fitted to do so.

H. R. Burns, S.J.

A MAJORITY OF CATHOLICS IN SECULAR SCHOOLS

The Catholic in Secular Education. *By James M. O'Neill.* New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1956. Pp. xix-172.

At a time when the building program for new Catholic educational institutions has reached unprecedented heights, a book on the Catholic student in secular education could have been a most unwelcome topic. Yet this book has been favorably received primarily because it judiciously reminds the American Catholic of a fact that can easily be forgotten. Professor O'Neill, who is eminently qualified to write about secular education on the college level, shows that, even with the expanding building program, the majority of Catholic students will continue to be instructed in secular schools.

Backing this statement with accurate information, the author then raises his voice in justified protest against his fellow-Catholics' blind condemnation of the secular institution. Drawing on his own and the experience of many of his Catholic friends who also teach in secular colleges and universities, he describes the dangers and yet the generally improved atmosphere which will face the Catholic student there today. With so many Catholic students confronting the dilemma of going to public high schools and secular universities or limiting themselves to a grammar school education, the author calls for a greater effort on the part of Catholics to permeate the educational life of the secular institution. He mentions the need for more Catholic scholars and professors who can competently represent the faith. They can become not only a protective force for the Catholic student but also a leaven in the non-Catholic majority. He cites the outstanding work done by Newman clubs and similar Catholic societies within the college milieu. Catholic students under the guidance of a zealous chaplain can gain additional strength in their religious, intellectual and moral convictions.

Even with his restrained eulogy of the improved atmosphere of the secular college, Professor O'Neill admits that there will always be a danger to the Catholic student who is weak in his faith. This, indeed, would be true under any circumstances. Finally, although he does not state it in explicit terms, the aspiration of every Catholic youth must be to receive his undergraduate training in a Catholic college or university. There rests the Catholic ideal. For there alone can his faith, fostered by a religious environment, grow to its fullness in the light of philosophical and theological truth.

Robert A. McGuire, S.J.

THE CATHOLIC COLLEGE: TEACHER AND STUDENT

A Little Learning. *By Walter J. Handren, S.J.* Westminster: Newman, 1956. Pp. xii-215. $3.50.

One of the characteristics of Jesuit education is a special interest in the student on the part of the teacher. This book is an application of this principle, for the author is sharing seventeen years of experience in the classroom, as well as mature scholarship, with the numerous college men and women who will read him. The book is divided into three parts. Part one pictures the main environmental factors constituting a Catholic college. Such topics as relations with the faculty, study habits, extra-curriculars, dancing and parties, the pros and cons of boarding away from home are candidly treated. Part two presents a philosophy of education in simple yet clear terms. This is the heart of the book and its more fruitful and worthwhile matter not only for the student but also teachers wishing to brush up on practical pedagogical principles. "Expressing Oneself" and "Aesthetic Development" are chapters which might prove of particular interest to Ours. The third part of the book reduces to rule and practical application the principles of the preceding sections as applied to campus environment. It is thus a synthesis of the first two sections. The chapter on "Reading" seems particularly worthy of note. The principles which find development in this volume and the reservoir of teaching experience that it represents should recommend this book to Ours as well as to college students.

LEO H. LARKIN, S.J.

THE FREE SPIRIT OF A HERO

Seek For A Hero. *By William G. Schofield.* New York: Kenedy & Sons, 1956. Price: $3.95.

"Where shall we seek for a hero, and where shall we find a story?" From these lines found in a poem by John Boyle O'Reilly, comes the title of this book which is an interesting biography of a great man.

In O'Reilly, the author finds his hero, and in *Seek For A Hero* we find a story with warmth and vitality. Tracing the life of O'Reilly from the time of his early youth until his death in 1890, Schofield brings into clear focus his courageous, freedom-loving spirit. At the age of twenty-two O'Reilly was captured by the English, sentenced to life imprisonment for being a Fenian spy, and exiled to an Australian prison camp. Instead of wilting under the inhuman treatment, he grimly searched for a way to freedom, and after years of suffering, managed an amazing escape and ultimately found his way to America. Here, too, it was impossible for him to remain deaf to the cries of the oppressed, and as editor of *The Pilot*, Boston newspaper, he championed the cause of the Negro, the American Indian, and others who sought to have their rights recognized. We must thank the author for this graphic portrayal of an Irish hero.

ROBERT B. CULLEN, S.J.

CATHOLIC PRIEST IN MOSCOW

Moscow Was My Parish. *By the Reverend Georges Bissonnette, A.A.* New York, McGraw-Hill Company, Inc., 1956. Pp. 272. $3.95.

The first graduate from Fordham's Institute of Contemporary Russian Studies, the author was well equipped to assume the extraordinary duties of American chaplain in Moscow from January, 1953 until his dramatic and much-publicized expulsion in March, 1955. He learned much about the Soviet Union during that time, and what he saw, his reactions to circumstances and his interpretations of events are the contents of his book. All things considered, one closes this book with a sane sense of hope for Russia, chiefly because of the religious depth of her people. The Catholic Church in the Soviet Union is barely a shadow of the complex of dioceses, schools, colleges, monasteries and newspapers that once existed, but it is still a force, though a small one. The hierarchy of the dissident Russian Church presents a special problem because of its subservience to the Soviet regime and its willingness to become the instrument of foreign and domestic policy, but to the common people religion is still essentially an effort to conform their conduct to Christ's life on earth.

JOHN J. MCDONALD, S.J.

THE BEST IN CATHOLIC VERSE: 1930-1955

The Second America Book of Verse, 1930-1955. New York: The America Press, 1955. Pp. 189.

When Father Talbot was appointed Literary Editor of America in 1923, he began to encourage the publication of the best in Catholic verse and his successors in that office have tried to continue that tradition so ably begun. The first *America Book of Verse* appeared in 1928 and contained selections of the best poetry, which had appeared in the magazine since its foundation in 1909. Twenty-seven years later America publishes its second anthology, selected and arranged with excellent taste by James Edward Tobin. Of interest to readers of WOODSTOCK LETTERS is the fact that thirty-four poems are from the pens of seventeen Jesuits, among whom are Alfred Barrett, John L. Bonn, William Donaghy, Richard Grady, Leonard McCarthy, Francis Sweeney and Daniel Berrigan.

As Father Gardiner, the present Literary Editor, remarks in his preface, "The poetry is somehow different". Foremost among the changes he lists those in technique and diction, and the absence of the language of poesy. There are obvious signs also that poetry is no longer regarded as a separate kind of knowledge, a precious technique or an instrument of propaganda. The deepening maturity of Catholic education, the increased participation on the part of Catholics in the life of the Church through the liturgy and increased awareness of doctrines like the Mysti-

cal Body, all these account for the growth in maturity of Catholic poetry in this country. Christian dogma is at the heart of this growth and the artist in this 1955 collection gives evidence of seeking its aid not just in regard to subject matter but more importantly as that vantage point from which he gains the light necessary for contemplating all the truths of the created universe. This second *America Book of Verse* will certainly repay the serious attention of the reader.

J. J. GOLDEN, S.J.

PERSON AND COMMUNITY

The Three-Dimensional Man. *By A. M. Sullivan.* New Pork: P. J. Kenedy. 1956. Pp. lx-298. $4.00.

The author in his introduction to his work states that he is an expert on nothing. The reader will be inclined to disagree vigorously. Mr. Sullivan has done the job of an expert in his understanding portrayal of the relation between spiritual values and material progress in science and business. In defining the three-dimensional man, the author depicts a man of personal integrity, community responsibility, and spiritual awareness. Then he proceeds to explain the physical and moral forces, which help to form these three qualities. The true three-dimensional man must be wary in choosing his reading, conscious as he is that what he reads contributes greatly to what he is. In his analysis of minority groups and their influence upon a man's thought, two types of minorities emerge—the dedicated and the selfish. The author cautions against the labels and slogans which so often manage to lead even thoughtful men astray. The final chapter is truly a fitting summary of a splendid book, which offers a very good study of the place which the humanities can play in the life of an educated American. For the man whose daily activities are wholly concerned with one or other rather limited scientific or commercial field, this book could be the beginning of a new view of life. The basic truths of Christian humanism are presented in a delightfully American tone. Mr. Sullivan tells us that if there need be a moral to this appraisal of American culture, it might be worded in the question, "What makes life worth living?" This book is a spiritually alert effort to answer that tremendous question.

FRANK C. BOURBON, S.J.

FINE SYNTHESIS

Toward the Summit. *By Raymond L. Bruckberger, O.P. Translated by Sister M. Camille, O.S.F. and Alastair Guinan.* New York: Kenedy, 1956. Pp. 160. $2.75.

France and the Dominicans have made considerable contributions to the Church's spirituality. Father Bruckberger, a Frenchman and a Dominican, presents a few spiritual insights which afford a solid

basis for achieving spiritual progress. In its analysis of the fundamental elements of Christian spirituality, *Toward the Summit* presents a clear tripartite division. First, God is the object or end of our life; second, man therefore, should attempt to inculcate unity with God even on this earth; third, the saints are offered as examples for imitation in accomplishing that union.

In the first section the author examines the needs presented by man's consciousness. God alone satisfies man, since the attributes that God possesses complement the needs or desires found in man. To see such a solution requires a free gift, faith. True, we may dispose ourselves by a rational preparation and by hearing the announcement of His revealed message. Ultimately, however, our reaction depends on God's gift of grace to the soul.

Contact and union with God is also a desire of man. The second section deals with the predispositions needed to effect union with God through prayer. Great stress is placed on the first condition of prayer, to "place ourselves in the presence of God." As our concern with our own attachments becomes less, the truth of God becomes clearer. The Our Father shows us the correct disposition for prayer, the best method of prayer, the means of moving towards God, the completion of our life, our summit.

The saints appear united with God; their summit is not hidden by clouds. They do not appear to us, however, like the legendary heroes of ancient times, as supermen; saints imitate the heroism of Christ which was human. Every human situation is presented to us as capable of leading men to God, which is proven by the fact that saints have come from every state in life. Since each avocation has its patron saint, men in a similar position can be inspired to follow the example of a saint who shared this same milieu. Thus the saints by their lives show the possibility of reaching the summit.

This work is a fine synthesis of the soul's progress towards God. Its author gives evidence of the wide erudition and the deep, intimate spiritual life that has appeared in his other writings. As a translation, the fear is present in the reader that the author's personal insights sometimes become obscured by transfer to another medium of expression. The translation of the second and third sections is good, literary English; the first section presents an attempt to preserve the French style even at the cost of sacrificing clear, English idiom. The book, however, still presents much material for meditative thought.

EDMUND G. RYAN, S.J.